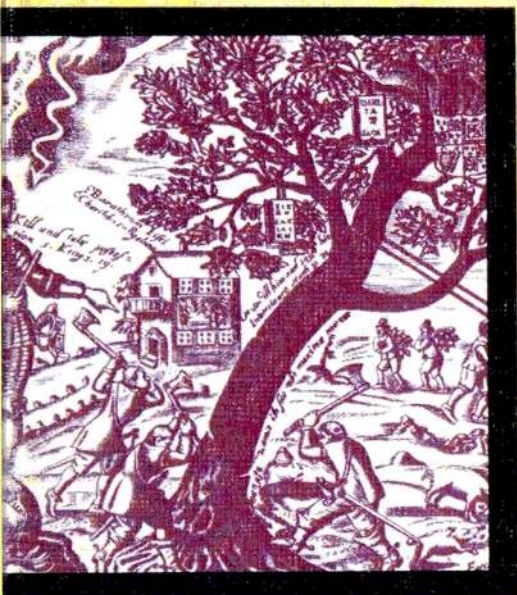


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Modern History 1640-1870



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Modern History 1640-1870

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Contents

INTRODUCTION	5
<i>Chapter I</i>	
THE ENGLISH BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION	8
<i>Chapter II</i>	
ENGLAND DURING THE LATE 17th AND EARLY 18th CENTURIES	18
<i>Chapter III</i>	
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	24
<i>Chapter IV</i>	
FRANCE DURING THE LATE 17th AND THE 18th CENTURIES	36
<i>Chapter V</i>	
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION	43
<i>Chapter VI</i>	
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. THE THERMIDOR CONVENTION AND THE DIRECTORY	61
<i>Chapter VII</i>	
GERMANY IN THE 17th-EARLY 19th CENTURIES	75
<i>Chapter VIII</i>	
THE MULTINATIONAL EMPIRE OF THE HAPSBURGS FROM THE 17th CENTURY TO THE EARLY 19th CENTURY	83
<i>Chapter IX</i>	
SPAIN IN THE LATE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES	102
<i>Chapter X</i>	
THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS. THE JULY REVOLUTION AND THE JULY MONARCHY	107
<i>Chapter XI</i>	
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM FROM UTOPIA TO SCIENCE	118
<i>Chapter XII</i>	
THE REVOLUTION OF 1848-1849 IN FRANCE	129
<i>Chapter XIII</i>	
GERMANY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY	137

<i>Chapter XIV</i>	
THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE IN THE 1860s . . . . .	.154
<i>Chapter XV</i>	
ITALY IN 1700-1850 . . . . .	.166
<i>Chapter XVI</i>	
SPAIN IN THE 19th CENTURY . . . . .	.176
<i>Chapter XVII</i>	
PORTUGAL FROM 1600 TO 1860 . . . . .	.188
<i>Chapter XVIII</i>	
ENGLAND FROM 1800 TO 1860 . . . . .	.193
<i>Chapter XIX</i>	
THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM . . . . .	.201
<i>Chapter XX</i>	
THE SECOND EMPIRE IN FRANCE . . . . .	.212
<i>Chapter XXI</i>	
THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY . . . . .	.217
<i>Chapter XXII</i>	
THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY . . . . .	.227
<i>Chapter XXIII</i>	
THE CIVIL WAR AND THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES . . . . .	.233
<i>Chapter XXIV</i>	
LATIN AMERICA FROM 1500 TO 1870 . . . . .	.248
<i>Chapter XXV</i>	
THE BALKAN PEOPLES FROM 1600 TO 1870 . . . . .	.260
<i>Chapter XXVI</i>	
POLAND IN 1650-1880 . . . . .	.276
<i>Chapter XXVII</i>	
THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM FROM 1600 TO 1870. THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	.282
<i>Chapter XXVIII</i>	
THE NORTH EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (1600-1870) . . . . .	.290
<i>Chapter XXIX</i>	
SWITZERLAND FROM 1650 TO 1870 . . . . .	.302
<i>Chapter XXX</i>	
FROM THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE TO THE FORMATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION . . . . .	.309
<i>Chapter XXXI</i>	
LITERATURE AND ART . . . . .	.320
CHRONOLOGY . . . . .	.329
NAME INDEX . . . . .	.345

INTRODUCTION

Modern History is that period which saw the victory of capitalism over feudalism and the establishment of the capitalist formation throughout the world.

The destruction of the feudal system and the development of capitalist relations in the course of the bourgeois revolutions brought about a rapid development of productive forces and a vast increase in the productivity of labour. In a comparatively short period the long journey was covered from handicrafts and early manufacturing to large-scale machine production, powered by steam and electricity. Hired labour replaced bonded producers as the main productive force in society. The development of machine industry resulted in a concentration of production, an expansion of trade, transport and communications and an upsurge of science and the arts.

At the same time a deep social revolution took place, beginning in the most developed countries of Europe and gradually taking in all the others. The population structure changed radically. The feudal barons and peasant farmers that were dependent on them became replaced as the main classes of society by the bourgeoisie and the class of hired labourers possessing no means of production and little means of existence and known as the proletariat. The remaining classes, including the vestiges of the feudal aristocracy, were swept into the curbside of history and forced to accept the domination of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois victory became possible thanks to the support of the masses, who were attracted to the slogans of bourgeois ideology—liberty, equality and brotherhood. In their struggle against feudalism the masses freed themselves

from their feudal chains, but feudal exploitation of the working people was replaced by capitalist exploitation that relied on the worker having greater material interest in the results of his labour.

Bourgeois domination throughout the world was a consequence of social evolution coupled with revolutions, crises and wars, and it wrought a change in the structure of the bourgeoisie itself and in the latter's internal contradictions. The old merchant bourgeoisie now lost ground to the industrial bourgeoisie, which later merged with the banking bourgeoisie to form a financial oligarchy. This was due to industrialization and the concentration of production and capital, and brought about increased bourgeois exploitation of the workers, particularly in the colonies and semicolonies.

The bourgeoisie preserved its revolutionary potential and continued to rapidly develop capitalism in depth and in width. But contradictions in a mode of production based on capitalist ownership grew more and more profound infringing upon the interests of the main productive force of society, the proletariat, and other exploited and oppressed groups. This led to the growth of the workers' movement and an increase in the struggle of all the oppressed peoples for national and social liberation. It was against this background that the theories of socialism were first developed and the socialist movement formed.

The first revolution that set out to do away with all exploitation was the revolution of March 18, 1871 in Paris. It showed the clear will of the working people to bring about the overthrow of the exploiter system. Since then the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been of prime importance in the social and political life of the developed and later the developing countries.

The English bourgeois revolution of the 17th century is considered by Soviet historians to be the border which divides modern history from medieval history and the first period of this modern history dates from then to the eve of the Paris Commune in 1871. This division is, of course, purely conventional. It would be quite justifiable to see modern history dating from the 16th century, when early forms of manufacture and the "capitalist era" began. Or even from the end of the 18th century, when after the French revolution of 1789-1799, the capitalist mode of production became

dominant. Furthermore, this latter period saw the industrial revolution in England and the beginning of mechanized factory production, which meant a significant victory for capitalist industry.

The industrial revolution and the rapid industrialization which followed it were decisive factors in strengthening the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie. From 1800 to 1870 world production rose approximately tenfold and during the last fifty years of this period world trade increased more than tenfold. The rapid development of Western Europe and North America was in large measure due to the colonial enslavement of many of the peoples of Africa, America and Asia. The economic and military power of Western Europe and North America helped increase their colonial expansion and their domination of the world market, which had formed by the 1860s.

The victories of the bourgeois revolutions put power in the hands of the bourgeoisie and gave it political and ideological domination. But the more rapidly capitalism developed, intensively and extensively, the more acute became its contradictions and antagonisms.

Modern History 1640-1870 is a textbook and part of the Student's Library series. Other books in the series include: *History of the USSR*, *History of Europe*, *History of Asia and Africa*, *History of America* and *Current History of the World*.

Chapter I

THE ENGLISH BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION

The Conditions Prior to the Revolution. The English bourgeois revolution struck the first crushing blow to feudalism in Europe. It destroyed the main bulwark of absolutism—the feudal monarchy, proclaimed England a republic, brought new classes to power and heralded the birth of a new social system. It led to a revolution in the minds of men—a revolution that was no less significant than the social and political revolutions.

Revolution in England matured leisurely, at a time when English absolutism seemed to have reached the period of its zenith. In the latter part of the 16th century, during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603), England was a totally rural country with the overwhelming majority of the population (estimated at between 4 and 4.5 million) living in the countryside. The only large town was London, which in the early 17th century had a population of 200,000. But already at the time the shoots of new social relations were growing in the soil of feudal society.

The second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century saw the intensive development of economic life. Substantial changes in the character of productive forces took place in agriculture, industry and trade, as they also did in the social structure of society.

The intensive development of new processes began primarily in agriculture. This was due to the peculiarities of the country's historical development. The Tudor reforms resulted in the concentration of landed estates in the hands of the "monied people"—the gentry and the newly formed urban bourgeoisie. Enterprising landowners in the 16th century began to fence off common land and use it for pasturing

sheep so as to sell wool and sheep and take their profit in money. As a result the poor peasants, who for centuries had had the use of the pastures and meadows, were now deprived of their livelihood. Thus impoverished they either worked as poorly paid hired labourers or joined the ranks of the tramps and beggars. In this way the peasantry was forcibly expropriated and a potential labour army was formed for the manufactories and mines. The large-scale capitalist renting of land spread throughout the countryside and a substantial stratum of capitalist farmers was formed. Hence the antagonism between the new landlords and capitalist lessees, on the one hand, and the oppressed and feudally dependent peasantry, on the other.

The interests of the new strata of English society, in their turn, were in sharp contradiction to the traditional relations in the countryside where feudal law reigned and where the tenure of land in the form of knight-service was subject to the king with ensuing feudal obligations imposed upon the nobility like wardship, dependence upon the crown and lack of freedom to dispose of one's own estate.

As for the peasants, they felt the weight of a double yoke. On the one hand, the manorial landlords began increasingly to infringe on their rights, and on the other, capitalist relations resulted in their impoverishment; at the same time, property differentiation began in their own class. There was also an increase in the number of cotters, that is, peasants with nothing but cottages and therefore forced to work as labourers.

This increasing exploitation was met by a series of peasant revolts: in Oxfordshire in 1597, in Northampton, Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Bedfordshire in 1607 and in Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire in 1631.

Substantial changes also took place in industry—particularly in methods of organization and division of labour. The capitalist manufactories expanded primarily on the basis of capital raised from trading and money-lending. Lead, copper, salt and iron mining increased and on this basis the metallurgical industry was developed. Manufactories were set up to make glass, sugar, silk, lace and cloth. By the end of the 16th century clothmaking had become the main branch of English industry and this cloth was sold extensively at home and abroad.

The merchant class grew and merchants and industrialists bought land and not infrequently a noble title with it. But industrial production was still closely linked with agricultural production and as a result there were close ties between the urban bourgeoisie and the new land-owning gentry. The new nobility were often landowners, big farmers, industrialists and merchants all at the same time. They were many in number, had certain privileges and a strong economic position and now stood at the head of all those forces that were opposed to the rule of the Stuarts.

These enterprising businessmen were hampered by the feudal system which imposed trade bans and a strict guild system and enforced dependence on the crown and royal control of their economic activity.

The reign of James I (1603-1625) and his son, Charles I (1625-1649), provoked considerable discontent among the bourgeoisie and the new nobility, particularly in Parliament, and opposition to the throne grew. Two special courts—the Star Chamber and the High Commission—were set up to deal with this opposition.

The ideological life of society at the time was still closely tied to its medieval religious roots and therefore protest against the obsolete feudal system was expressed in religious form. The bourgeoisie and the new nobility, which were gaining increasing economic power in the country, were dissatisfied with the official Church of England. They became the Puritans who wanted to rid the Church of all Catholic services and ceremonies and do away with the power of bishops and ecclesiastical courts. And by doing this they were also protesting against the political and social foundations, since from the time of Henry VIII's Reformation the head of the Church of England was the king himself, and it was the Church which supported and sanctified the feudal-absolutist monarchy.

The Puritan faith was based on the theology of the Geneva reformer, Jean Calvin. The Puritans saw the foundations of religion to lie in the personal faith of each individual and thus denied the holy monopoly of the clergy, who until then had been considered the intermediaries between God and man. In the Puritan faith all were equal in the sight of God, whether they be lords or servants. Thus the idea of bourgeois equality came into being in a religious guise.

The Puritans rejected the hierarchical structure of the Church of England. They believed that the congregation should be headed by a presbyter, an elder chosen by the laity. The highest power in the Puritan Church was the Synod, which was composed of presbyters. The Presbyterians were wealthy merchants, City financiers, big landowners and rich free peasants. They were Orthodox Calvinists and supporters of moderate reform. The people who were less well-off, like the middle strata of the gentry, the owners of small handicraft businesses and manufactories, small shopkeepers, apprentices and peasant tenants were all looking for complete freedom of religious belief and individual communion with God. They did not like the Calvinist-Puritan doctrine with its narrow regimentation, strict dogma and adherence to the letter of the ancient Judaic law. They believed that the state should not interfere in religious affairs and they wanted broad religious tolerance and independence for the various religious communities and were thus known as the Independents.

The Petition of Right. The Beginning of the Revolution. Opposition to the Crown led to the Petition of Right being put forth by Parliament in 1628. This amounted to a demand by the bourgeoisie and the nobility for the inviolable right to own land and retain income from trade and industry. In answer Charles I dissolved Parliament and for the next eleven years ruled the country autocratically. To obtain the revenues which Parliament refused him, the king increased indirect taxation, renewed the long forgotten feudal tithes and gave to his favourites patents, privileges and monopolies on the manufacture of certain types of goods. With the help of the Earl of Strafford he squeezed the enslaved population of Ireland for every last penny. Another of his favourites, Archbishop Laud, increased religious oppression of the people.

But in 1639 a war broke out with Scotland, which was opposed to greater royal absolutism, and Charles I was forced to reconvene Parliament. At first he called the Short Parliament which lasted for only two weeks in the spring of 1640 before being dissolved since it had not given the king the right to collect new taxes, and then the Long Parliament. The calling of the Long Parliament on November 3, 1640 is

usually considered as the beginning of the English bourgeois revolution. The bourgeoisie and the new nobility that were represented at this Parliament dared now for the first time to openly oppose the arbitrariness of the king's ministers, the illegal requisitions, the power of the Church of England and the special courts. And in this they had the broad support of the people.

Their discontent was particularly pronounced in respect of the Earl of Strafford, who had gathered together an army in Ireland that at the command of the king was ready to invade England and put down the opposition. But the parliamentary leaders arrested Strafford during the first days of the Parliament and he was tried in May 1641. When the verdict was given a crowd of several thousand gathered outside the royal Palace in Whitehall to force the king to sign the death sentence over this hated favourite. Strafford was executed on May 12, 1641 and later Archbishop Laud met the same fate.

In July 1641, Parliament demanded an end to the courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission. In the same year there was an uprising in Ireland, which was now in a state of total desperation through requisitioning and oppression. The revolution continued to grow. Charles I tried to arrest the parliamentary leaders, but the people hid them in the City of London. Thus defeated the king fled north and in August 1642 declared civil war on Parliament.

The First Civil War (1642-1646). The parliamentary armed forces consisted of the disparate, badly equipped and untrained contingents of the people's militia and at first they suffered defeats at the hands of the royal cavalry. Then a regular parliamentary army was formed by Oliver Cromwell, a squire from Huntingdon. Fit, disciplined and inspired by the ideals of freedom and justice, this New Model Army, as it was called, consisted mainly of peasants, artisans and apprentices. Thanks to his skill as a general and his readiness to appoint commanders those who were good at their job and devoted to the ideals of the revolution rather than just of noble birth, Cromwell's army soon began to reverse the course of the war. Two resounding victories—at Marston Moor (1644) and Naseby (1645)—resulted in Charles I fleeing north and in May 1646 surrendering to the Scots.

But Parliament, now sitting in London and consisting chiefly of moderate Presbyterians, was in no hurry to start reforms. In 1646 the feudal knight-service was repealed, but only for landowners. The peasantry still continued to bear the burden of feudal dues and obligations. Furthermore, the indecisiveness of Parliament and the conservatism of the army commanders, who had ransomed the king from the Scots and now held him in honourable captivity, caused indignation among wide sections of the population demanding a continuation of the revolution.

The Struggle for Deeper Democratic Change. In 1647 the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution began. A new political party, the Levellers, appeared on the scene. Their aim was broad democratic change—an end to the monarchy and the House of Lords, the establishment of a republic in England, the granting of electoral rights and democratic freedoms to the whole people, the formation of an annual one-chamber Parliament and regular changes in the leadership. Their Constitution, called the Agreement of People, was discussed at the Army Council held in the London borough of Putney in autumn 1647. But the army command, which consisted of the Silken Independents, had no interest in giving power to the people.

The Levellers had the support of the broad masses of the people and their movement grew bigger. They had canvassers throughout the army persuading the soldiers of the need for progressive reform. John Lilburne and other pamphleteers wrote leaflets accusing the army command and Parliament of indecision and demanding political democratization.

The Second Civil War of 1648. In 1648 contingents of Levellers captured the king and brought him to London, but Charles I succeeded in escaping to the Isle of White. In the spring of that year a second civil war broke out between the royalists and the Parliament and once again Cromwell at the head of his New Model Army won brilliant victories over the forces of reaction.

Inspired by these victories the people demanded that the king be brought to trial. Their pressure was so great that the leaders of the army decided on an unprecedented step—they purged Parliament. This was known as Pride's

purge after Colonel Thomas Pride who led it. Most of those Presbyterians who were in favour of a peaceful agreement with the king were purged and a Supreme Court of Justice was set up to investigate the crimes of Charles Stuart. The Court sat in January 1649 and accused Charles I of betraying the people and of tyranny and bloodshed and sentenced him to death. On January 30, 1649 an unprecedented act in world history took place: on the square in front of the Palace of Whitehall at a public execution Charles I was beheaded according to the sentence of the Court. England was proclaimed a republic.

The Independents' Republic (1649-1653). But the revolutionary elan of the bourgeois and noble leaders went no further than this. Put to power by popular victories, their main concern was for their own personal and class interests. Enrichment now became their goal. Abandoning their earlier ideals and forgetting their own democratic slogans, they encouraged Cromwell's army to conquer other lands, particularly Ireland and Scotland.

To promote the interests of the rich bourgeoisie both at home and abroad, the Independents' Republic unleashed a fierce struggle against its main trading competitor, Protestant Holland. The publication in 1651 of the Navigation Act, which banned the import of foreign goods to England either on English ships or on ships of the country in which the goods were manufactured, led to a war with Holland. And this costly war increased dissatisfaction in the country even more.

But it was the conquest of Ireland that became the rock on which the English Republic floundered. First, because the plundering of Irish lands promoted the enrichment of new classes and these ultimately became a counterrevolutionary force which led to the restoration of the Stuarts. Secondly, because this plunder turned the revolutionary people's army into an occupation force thirsting for personal gain. In this way the revolutionary initiative of the people was neutralized. The Independent Parliament, purged of the Presbyterians, now became a self-seeking oligarchic clique, known to the people as "the rump of the Long Parliament".

The Levellers also suffered defeat. Their ideals were essentially petty-bourgeois. Though they proclaimed political

equality, they clearly separated themselves from those who demanded property equality.

The idea of socializing land and of universal peaceful labour, the idea of a “new world order” where the exploitation of man by man did not exist was put forward by the Diggers or the “true Levellers”. Under the leadership of Gerrard Winstanley they organized a peaceful peasant commune at St George’s Hill in the county of Surrey. But the movement was too immature and a year after the commune had been organized in 1649 it was broken up by soldiers and neighbouring well-off farmers, fearing that it might start a general “redivision of property”. The political Levellers resolutely distanced themselves from the Diggers movement, stressing their interest as being in purely political levelling. This led to a split in the peasant-plebeian camp and its defeat. Levellers uprisings were put down in spring 1649 and Lilburne, the leader of the movement, though acquitted by the court, was imprisoned and later exiled.

In 1652 Winstanley published a utopian tract entitled “The Law of Freedom in a Platform”, which he dedicated to Oliver Cromwell. In it he proposed a number of radical reforms aimed at the organization of peasant and artisan communes throughout England and the making of the country into a free and just republic. But his ideas received no support. Cromwell’s last revolutionary act under pressure from the people was to break up the “rump of the Long Parliament”, since it had not fulfilled the hopes placed upon it by various sections of society.

Cromwell’s Protectorate. But this was followed by an even sharper turn to the right. After an unsuccessful experiment with the Barebones or Little Parliament, as it was called, which was nothing more than a gathering of Independents’ religious communities who were ill-informed about politics and state affairs, but who were far more radical than Cromwell, the latter gave way to pressure from the army command and agreed to the establishment of a new regime in England – a protectorate. The Constitution of the protectorate, known as the “Instrument of Government”, was adopted in 1653. According to this document the country was ruled by a Parliament elected by the well-off members of society every three years. That Parliament was to be headed by a Protector

with wide-ranging dictatorial powers. The Protector commanded the armed forces, appointed and dismissed officials and implemented foreign policy. The post of Lord Protector of England was given to Oliver Cromwell for life.

In essence, the protectorate was nothing more than the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the new nobility. These classes intended to hold on to power and use the force of Cromwell's sword to threaten, on the one hand, those who would wish to restore the monarchy, and on the other, the attempts of the people to continue revolutionary changes. Forced continually to defend itself from both the monarchists and the people, the protectorate was growing more and more conservative. Its domestic policy began increasingly to resemble that of James I and Charles I—the repression of all expression of discontent, the dissolution of Parliament at the first sign of opposition, the exaction of profit, often illegally, the handing out of monopolies and the encouragement of those who would drive the peasants from their land. The foreign policy of the protectorate was aimed at achieving English domination of the seas and winning trade privileges for English merchants. England conducted a series of aggressive wars, particularly on the west coast of the Atlantic, and plundered foreign lands.

But the class base of the regime was becoming smaller and smaller. The people had started to recoil from it as early as 1649 when Cromwell put down the Levellers movement. Now the new landowners, who had got rich from lands confiscated from the royalists or seized in Ireland, began to incline towards monarchy as a power that was more “legitimate”, stable and better able to protect their interests. In 1657 Cromwell was offered the crown and was ready to accept, but the officers whose desire it was to maintain a military dictatorship, forced him to refuse. The newly adopted Constitution “Humble Petition and Advice” was even more reminiscent of the pre-revolutionary one. An upper chamber was formed of lords appointed by Cromwell, and Cromwell was given the right to appoint an heir. In its last years the protectorate came near to collapse and only the personal authority of Cromwell kept the country from being plunged into another civil war.

Cromwell died on September 3, 1658. For a short time power passed to the hands of his son, Richard, but in May

1659 he announced his retirement. Popular discontent arose with new force and the republican "rump of the Long Parliament" was returned to power in the spring of that year. A Second Republic was established in England. But soon the "rump" was replaced by a military dictatorship. The political instability of the country, the upsurge of popular discontent and the reawakened activity of the people demanding democratic reforms made the bourgeois-noble alliance realize the need to restore the "legitimate" monarchy to power. Rumours that religious sects like the Anabaptists, the Quakers and the Familists, which had been like revolutionary clubs for the lower sections of the population, were planning to arm themselves, forced General Monck's army, which was billeted in the north, to move on London and return to Parliament the Presbyterians which had previously been driven out.

They gathered in Westminster on February 21, 1660. Their first concern was to repeal all acts passed by the "rump" since autumn 1648 and give all state appointments and the command of the army and the people's militia to their own supporters. The Presbyterian structure of the Church was restored. The republicans were either arrested or driven out of London. After this the Long Parliament proclaimed its own dissolution and announced elections to a new constituent body, the Convent.

Chapter II

ENGLAND DURING THE LATE 17th AND EARLY 18th CENTURIES

The Restoration of the Stuarts. The Declaration which was proclaimed by the Presbyterian Convent in April 1660 in the town of Breda (Holland) provided the grounds for their inviting Charles Stuart the Younger to accept the English throne.

This Declaration guaranteed the English people amnesty for anything they had done during the civil war together with freedom of religious belief and confirmation of all land sales and confiscations. The Convent, which met on April 25 and consisted of those well-off bourgeoisie and nobles interested in making a compromise with the monarchy, proclaimed Charles II (1600-1685) King of England.

But for all that, the new reign began with persecutions. All those who had helped to make the revolution and had not yet managed to escape abroad were seized and executed, as were the members of those sects who tried to protest against the new rule. Even the bodies of Cromwell, his son-in-law Henry Ireton and Judge Bradshaw, who had headed the court which sentenced Charles I to death, were exhumed and left hanging in a public place. The Church of England was restored to its rights and the Presbyterians and Independents' priests were driven from the parishes. The Conventicle Act (1664) banned all public prayers except those sanctioned by the Church of England. Any prayer meeting at which more than five persons were present was considered a criminal act. Strict censorship was imposed on all publications and the number of printing works was sharply reduced. Throughout the country leaflets and books from the revolutionary period were burned, including the works of the great poet, John Milton.

The royalists who came to power alongside Charles II tried to get back the lands and influence they had lost after the revolution. But the government was forced to take account of the interests of the bourgeoisie, who wanted trade, the development of English industry and colonial wars. Charles II's marriage to a Portuguese princess brought the town of Bombay in India under English control and this became the stronghold for the colonial enslavement and plundering of that country. Charles II also fought wars with Holland for trade supremacy at sea.

Within the country reaction intensified. The influence of Catholic, absolutist France, from whose government Charles II received a pension that was necessary to maintain him in his squanderous, dissolute life, now grew strong. But so also did a covert, but firm opposition. The Quakers, who maintained the traditions of the revolutionary sectarians and proclaimed their love of peace and adherence to the principle of non-violence, continued to gather together and hold their prayer meetings in silence. It was at this time that the poet John Milton wrote his great poems "Paradise Lost", "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes" in which he glorified uprisings against tyranny. Other political theorists and writers tried to show the advantages of the republican system. The opposition Whig Party, which consisted of the bourgeoisie and the new nobility, formed the Green Ribbon Club in 1675, of which several former revolutionaries were members. When Charles II died in 1685 and the throne passed to his Catholic brother, James II, a rebellion broke out in the West Country led by Charles II's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, who laid claim to the throne. With promises to restore political and religious freedom, to call Parliament annually and to replace the regular army with a people's militia, he was joined by peasants and mine-workers. But the rebellion was crushed at the Battle of Sedgemoor on July 5, 1685 by regular royalist troops.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688. But the terror continued to increase. James II, who was also in receipt of secret funds from the King of France, began to take steps towards the establishment in England of Catholicism, a religion which in the minds of contemporaries was identified with feudal reaction and submission to the French and the Pope. The bour-

geoisie and the new nobility feared for their possessions. Discontent at the policy of the Crown became general and in June 1688 the leaders of the opposition offered the throne to William (Wilhelm) of Orange, the husband of James II's daughter, Mary, and the head of the Dutch government. He was to arrive in England at the head of an army for the purpose of restoring "Protestant freedoms".

On November 5 of that year William landed in England with a 15,000-strong army and was soon joined by the contingents of James II, which defected to his side together with their commanders. Abandoned by everyone, James II fled to France. On December 18, 1688 William of Orange entered London. Thus occurred the bloodless coup d'état, which came to be known as the Glorious Revolution.

The most important document issued under the new reign was the Bill of Rights, under which England became a constitutional monarchy. The king lost the right of veto and was henceforth to govern the country jointly with Parliament. Without the latter's permission he could not raise taxes, maintain a regular army or interfere in religious affairs. But electoral rights were still granted only to those who had property and that meant the vast majority of the population did not have that right. Furthermore non-proportional representation in the constituencies remained as it had been before the revolution, so that not infrequently a few persons living in some backwater had the exclusive right to elect a member of Parliament. Religious tolerance too was of a very limited character—the sectarians who denied the Holy Trinity were persecuted with all the strictness of the law.

On the whole, the revolution of 1688 represented a class compromise between the landed aristocracy and the rising bourgeoisie, which henceforth were to share political power. The people remained as oppressed as ever before and took no part in political life.

Parliament now became the main body of power. Here the representatives of the big landowners held all the seats in the House of Lords and many of those in the House of Commons. But the latter also represented the interests of the big bourgeoisie and of those nobles who owned manufactories and finance houses. In local government it was also the landlords who were dominant. But both the government and Par-

liament were increasingly forced to reckon with the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The two-party system, formed during the years of the Restoration, was now firmly established in the country. The Whigs (representing the bourgeoisie and the new nobility) and the Tories (representing the aristocracy and the big landowners) replaced each other at the helm of state. In principle, they differed very little. Their interests coincided and both strove to exact the maximum profits from agriculture and trade and subsequently from industry and colonial exploitation. Both parties bought parliamentary seats, bribed members of Parliament and took bribes themselves. Corruption was rife throughout the whole of political life.

England in the 18th Century. After the revolution of 1688 capitalist enterprise developed rapidly in England: primary capital accumulation increased, the manufactories expanded and the peasants were expropriated and driven off their land *en masse*. Foreign policy was characterized by colonial expansion and plunder and efforts to increase England's might at sea.

In 1721 the Whig government of Robert Walpole came into office and remained there for two decades. This government pursued a protectionist policy of English industry and trade, particularly overseas. It lowered land taxes and duties on imported raw materials and published laws forcing the poor and the homeless, who were rapidly increasing in numbers, to work. Colonial possessions in the East and West Indies, in America and Africa continued to expand. This colonial policy encouraged the concentration of capital in the hands of a few monopolists and was the most important source of primary accumulation. England fought in the wars for the Spanish succession (1701-1713), for the Austrian succession (1740-1748) and in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), as a result of which the English were able to establish their domination in the colonies. Thus, according to the Peace Treaty of 1763, France retained only five sea-ports in India, the defences of which had all been removed. England increased its conquest and plunder of India and by the end of the century became the largest colonial power.

In the economic and social life of England in the 18th century two important processes took place. First, the agrarian

revolution, which had begun in the 16th century, reached its zenith following the civil wars and the revolution of 1688 when the enclosure system and the driving of the peasants from the land began on a vast scale. As a result many poor peasants, day-labourers and rural artisans were left penniless and were forced to wander about, mainly into the towns, in search of work. A cheap labour market was thus formed and this made hired labour readily available. Secondly, in the mid-18th century the conditions were ripe in England for an industrial revolution. The need to develop manufactory production led to a number of inventions, which by the 19th century had transformed the whole of English industry. In 1733 the flying shuttle was invented for cloth manufacture, which accelerated the production of fabrics considerably. In 1738 a machine was invented which would thread cotton mechanically. In 1764 James Hargreaves invented the Spinning Jenny and in 1771 Richard Arkwright opened the first spinning factory. The machines installed in it were worked by a water wheel. By 1780 England had 20 such factories and ten years later 150.

Other branches of industry also underwent substantial changes. In 1765 James Watt built a steam engine and in 1771 produced its improved model. This invention was of enormous significance for the development of factory production. It meant that industrial enterprises were no longer dependent on the power of rivers and resulted in a general expansion of factory production. The steam engine required coal, and this gave an enormous boost to the coal industry. The demand for metal stimulated the development of new forms of smelting and resulted in improvements in metallurgy, which also began to work on coal, not on wood as before.

Industrial development brought a growth of new towns like Manchester and Birmingham, encouraged the development of roads and transport and promoted links between various parts of the country. It also gave rise to a new class—the industrial proletariat. A worker at these industrial factories was substantially different from a medieval artisan or a worker at the manufactories—he was simply an appendage to a machine. Work at the factories was hard and monotonous and went on for 14 to 18 hours a day. Pay was low; for women and children, of whom there were many employed at

the factories, it was even lower. The invention of new machines resulted in redundancies and the indignation of the workers was in many cases such that they smashed them. In 1769 Parliament passed a law making the smashing of factory machines a criminal offence punishable by death. But the movement of the Luddites, as the first rebellious workers were called after Ned Ludd who broke the knitting machine at which he worked, continued. The uncoordinated, ignorant and downtrodden workers gradually united and began to struggle for their rights, for higher wages and for an improvement in labour conditions.

And as industry grew, so did the size and influence of another class—the industrial bourgeoisie. They began to oppose the political monopoly held by a few dozen aristocratic families. The Whigs and the Tories were joined by a group of radicals, who launched a struggle for political reform with the publication of critical and satirical pamphlets.

At the same time as the workers' movement and the bourgeois political opposition were growing in England the War of Independence (1773-1775) began in North America and the Irish stepped up their efforts against the English, who for many centuries had kept them in a state of subjugation.

It was during the 18th century that the English Enlightenment also grew and expanded. It had been started by the thinkers of the revolutionary period and by the philosopher John Locke. But alongside Locke's sensualist philosophy there also appeared the idealist philosophies of David Hume and George Berkeley.

The need for economic growth gave birth to bourgeois economic theories, the greatest representative of which was Adam Smith. He developed the theory of the economic enrichment of the state. New political theories also appeared, particularly those of a radical democratic orientation whose main proponents were Thomas Mun, Joseph Priestley and William Godwin. Thomas Spence and William Henry Ogilvie put forward utopian projects for changing the whole social and economic structure of England.

England entered the 19th century as the most economically developed and powerful colonial power in the world. Its bourgeoisie and proletariat were developing as classes and it had a high and varied culture.

Chapter III

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The First American Revolution. The Population of the North American Colonies. The history of the United States began from the founding of the English colonies on the Atlantic Coast of North America. The first of these colonies to be founded was Virginia in 1607 on the southern part of the coast and then in 1620 a group of English settlers landed in the north and founded New Plymouth. This was the beginning of New England. Other colonies were also formed subsequently by the French, the Italians and the Spanish.

North America at the time was inhabited by numerous tribes and peoples living at various levels of the primitive-communal stage of society. These peoples were referred to by the Europeans as Indians, since Columbus who had discovered America believed that he had reached India.

The great geographical discoveries and the naval expeditions—military, merchant and piratical—which accompanied these discoveries, made it possible for an enormous workforce to emigrate from Europe following their impoverishment under the conditions imposed by early capitalist development. The American colonies were founded by commercial companies owned by rich merchants and noblemen. These companies attracted emigrant workers by the offer of land in the colonies on favourable terms. The workers were given free passage to America, but once there they had to pay back the cost of the passage. This could take between two and seven years. Furthermore, on arrival at the American ports these bondsmen, as they were called, were sold to their new owners for the period required to pay off their passage. Many bondsmen ended up in America against their will, since in England there was a whole trade built on selling

kidnapped children and sometimes adults to America. Criminals were also shipped there and exile to America at times replaced the death penalty. These prisoners had to work from seven to fourteen years, sometimes more.

But even so, the flood of bondsmen from Europe could not satisfy the demands for labour, while attempts to enslave the American Indians were not very successful. Therefore in the early 17th century black slaves were brought over from Africa. Slave trading became a profitable international business, mainly controlled by the American slave traders and shipowners. During the first decades of slave trade the Africans were not treated much worse than the European bondsmen and some after a period of time were actually given their freedom. But by the 18th century when slave labour had become the mainstay of the plantations, they were regarded as nothing more than a commodity for buying and selling, a talking working machine. They suffered the most brutal oppression and in the southern colonies, where they were mostly to be found, there were laws banning their manumission.

Thus the North American colonies became populated with two races. But the white majority was not homogeneous in its ethnic composition. During the first century the English made up the larger part, but the Irish, Scots and Welsh also settled there, both for the same reasons as the English and for the fact that in Britain these peoples suffered national and religious oppression. French Huguenots were also among the first colonizers of North America and whole groups of German sectarians settled in various regions like Pennsylvania. The largest variety of nationalities was to be found in the Middle Atlantic colonies. New York was as multinational in the 17th century as it is today.

This ethnic variety was linked to the spread of different religions. The religious struggle that went on in England during the bourgeois revolution had been one of the immediate causes of the appearance and development of the American colonies. New England was founded by the Puritans, but the first merchant companies to be set up there were commercial enterprises and bondsmen formed the major part of the settlers. The rule in these colonies was theocratic and oligarchic and heretics and religious dissenters were severely persecuted. The colonies were far from being abodes of free thinking, and although there existed various representative bodies,

elected by a more or less wide circle of property-owning settlers, there were practically always religious limitations imposed on franchise and elected offices.

The native inhabitants of North America were at first fairly friendly to the colonists and helped them. But then the inevitable conflicts broke out as the English colonists, who lived chiefly by farming, needed more land and took it from the Indians by force or deceit. The American Indians resisted and the ensuing wars, which varied in size but never in ferocity, lasted throughout the whole colonial period till the 19th century. By the end of the colonial period the Indian tribes which lived between the coast and the Alleghany Mountains had either been driven out or wiped out, a result that was in no small measure helped by the "firewater" (strong alcoholic liquors), which the Europeans spread amongst them more readily than their Christian teaching. But the Indians also sometimes allied themselves with the European colonists. In all the Anglo-French wars, which the colonial period had in abundance, both sides made use of intertribal strife to win over to their side one or other of the various Indian tribes.

Social and Economic Development. In the southern colonies the economy was chiefly based on the large plantations. They produced tobacco, rice, and indigo, which mostly went for export. In New England the farmers tended to have small holdings which mainly produced just enough for themselves and their families. And here fishing, sailing and shipbuilding were common. In the mid-Atlantic colonies, which apart from England were also founded by Holland and Sweden, there were large feudal-type estates owned by the Dutch as well as the farmers' small holdings.

By the mid-18th century the thirteen English colonies between the Atlantic coast and the Appalachian Mountains (the Dutch and Swedish colonies had long been taken over by the English) were united by common economic ties. Trade was mostly carried out by sea and rivers, since roads on land were few. Foreign trade went on mainly with England, which tried to monopolize it. Smuggling carried out in violation of the strict English laws brought the American merchants particularly large profits. In the north and central regions industry developed with manufactories and artisans' workshops being set up. The farmers also turned more and more to the

commodity economy. The English and Dutch aristocrats tried to bring their feudal systems with them to America, but this they found was not easy. The colonists could always move further west and take over the “free” land, which in fact belonged to the Indians. Squatting became very widespread, despite the continual attempts of the authorities to stop it. Most of the squatters were poor farmers. The rich by legal and illegal means took control of enormous areas of land. Land speculation became a profitable occupation for the colonial bourgeoisie.

Thus in the colonies an early capitalist society—imported from Europe—was formed, which contained both vestiges of European feudalism and slavery.

This structure of society reflected the class war that was taking place in it, a conflict that was fought on many varied levels. The black slaves were never a submissive, silent mass—they fought against their owners with all the means they had at their disposal. They practised sabotage and arson, they escaped from their captivity and on many occasions they broke out in rebellion. This, as we learn from the annals of the colonial period, was particularly true of the 18th century. Then there were the farmers’ uprisings, which were also a characteristic feature of social life at the time. The western, hinterland regions were in continual enmity with the coastal regions, where the merchant bourgeoisie and Crown officials, who exploited the farmers, were largely to be found.

The Clash of Interest Between the Mother Country and the Colonies. England did everything it could to impede the economic growth of the colonies. Whole branches of industry like metal working and wool production were banned or severely restricted, and the colonists were not allowed to occupy the new lands in the west, although these bans were only enforced partially and often totally ignored. North American industry developed despite them. Smuggling was carried out on an extensive scale and land was seized without legal documents. But England’s policy was nevertheless a serious impediment to the development of the colonies. This as never before was felt after the mid-18th century when England, on the threshold of an industrial revolution, put considerable pressure on her economically strong possess-

ions. New customs regulations were introduced, the strength of English troops in America was increased and searches were conducted in the houses of the colonists.

In 1765 the English Parliament passed the Stamp Act which meant that some stamp duty had to be paid on almost all legal and economic documents, announcements and newspapers, etc., in America. This stamp duty was a burden for all sections of the population, as it was the first direct taxation introduced by the English government in the colonies, and this gave rise to mass protest. Crowds of colonists burned the stamp paper and the tax collectors were tarred and feathered. Democratic organizations sprung up in all the colonies, the most important of which was known as the Sons of Liberty. The mass movement led to the calling of a Congress in New York, which adopted the Declaration of Rights. This proclaimed that the colonists were not obliged to pay taxes imposed by the English government, since they had no representation in Parliament. The colonial merchants began to boycott English goods and the Sons of Liberty watched to make sure that the boycott was maintained.

England was forced to repeal the Stamp Act, but a year later it introduced other laws and taxes. This led to a new wave of unrest in its American colonies. It was during this period that the so-called Corresponding Committees, which coordinated the actions of the various colonies and towns, began to acquire considerable importance.

The English government sent additional forces to North America, which only led to more unrest. The Boston workers refused to build barracks for them and at a meeting the inhabitants of that town voted to take up arms in self-defence. On March 5, 1770 enmity between the soldiers and the people led to the Boston Massacre, when English soldiers fired on the crowd and killed several workers and sailors. The unrest was now so great and so widespread that the authorities were forced to withdraw the troops from the town.

In 1773 Parliament allowed the British East India Company to sell tea in America for a very small import duty, which virtually gave that company a monopoly on the sale of tea on the North American market. This put the colonies against the East India Company, for the Tea Act took the market away from the tea-smugglers. So when the East In-

dian tea began to arrive at the American ports, it was either not unloaded or not sold. In Boston a group of patriots, dressing themselves as American Indians, boarded the ships and threw the tea into the sea. This event, known as the Boston Tea Party, took place in December 1773. The English government replied with what were called the Intolerable Acts. The port of Boston was closed for trade and blockaded. Massachusetts was deprived of its self-government and civic meetings were banned.

The First Continental Congress and the Beginning of the War of Independence. By now the colonies were solidly behind each other. Help was sent to Boston in the form of supplies and money. At meetings everywhere the colonists expressed indignation over the measures taken by the English government. A Continental Congress was held in Philadelphia in September 1774 and almost all the colonies were represented at it. The Congress soon split into two factions—a right and a left—but the left came out on top. The most important act of the Congress was the decision to form an association for preventing the import and export of goods to and from England. With this aim in view it was proposed to set up special committees for all the regions and to boycott the violators. The Congress recommended the development of industry in the colonies and the renunciation of luxury goods.

The watch or security committees were supported by the lower ranks of the population and eventually became organs of local power taking coercive measures against the Tories who supported the British administration. People armed themselves and militia were formed. In some of the colonies the English governors fled to be replaced by provincial conventions and other self-created bodies. Armed skirmishes took place between the patriots and the English troops searching for secret weapons caches.

In April 1775 English soldiers sent to the towns of Lexington and Concord near Boston were attacked by the volunteer contingents and the rest of the colonists, who fired back at them from trees, houses and fences. The English were completely defeated and after losing hundreds of men were forced to flee. This was the first battle in the War of Independence and the signal for an armed uprising throughout the colonies. In Massachusetts, the centre of the uprising, the

rebels laid siege to Boston, an English stronghold, for almost a year.

Although the majority of the colonists fought for the revolution, they were not all united. The English, the Tories or the Loyalists, were supported by the civil servants, the agents of the English merchants, the Anglican priests, the landowners and feudalists of the middle colonies and many of the rich planters and merchants. On the other side, among the Whigs or the Patriots, as they were called, there was a struggle between the rich, conservative hierarchy, which feared a revolutionary upsurge among the masses, and the radical wing. The latter included farmers, urban workers and artisans and it was headed by the radical bourgeoisie, most prominent among whom were Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry. The main support for the Whigs came from the heavily populated colonies of New England and Virginia but their followers were also found in the western, farming regions.

Many blacks, particularly those that were free, fought on the side of the revolution. Some 20 per cent of the total number of slaves took advantage of the hostilities to escape, but many of these went over to the English who promised them freedom.

The American Indians also fought in the war and here again, mostly on the side of the English, because a victory for the colonists meant further encroachments on the Indians' land.

The Second Continental Congress and the Declaration of Independence. Immediately after the outbreak of hostilities in May 1775 the Second Continental Congress was held, which from the very beginning was forced to act as the central revolutionary government of the colonies in rebellion. It decided on the formation of a regular army and appointed George Washington as commander-in-chief. Washington was a rich Virginian planter and a member of the moderates in Congress. The American army was recruited from volunteers who enlisted for a fixed, usually a short period. The financing and supplying of this army was always a matter of considerable difficulty and the soldiers were often poorly equipped and hungry. This was largely due to bad organization, bad roads and poor transport, but also to the greed of the sup-

pliers and the machinations of the speculators. Each winter Washington's army dwindled away and each summer had to be reinforced with new recruits. But despite all these difficulties it fought well against the trained regular soldiers of the English army. The American soldiers knew that they were defending their own lands, they were given considerable support from the people, particularly the partisans, and themselves often resorted to guerrilla warfare.

The logical conclusion of the war between England and the colonies was the proclamation of independence, but this took quite a long time to achieve. The left, democratic wing of the Whigs were continually calling for a break with England and insisting on independence. This too was the natural outcome of the course of the war, its requirements and the virtual existence of state independence. It was the War of Independence that forged the unity of the colonies and gave birth to the American nation.

On July 4, 1776 the Second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. Since then that day has been an American national holiday. The former colonies now became States and they united (hence the name United States of America) and announced that they had seceded from England. The Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, was the most important document of its age. Written under the influence of the most advanced European and American thought, it affected political ideas in other countries. The Declaration proclaimed the equality of all people and their right to "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" (though, it is true, women and people with dark skins were not included). It affirmed the principles of national sovereignty and self-determination. But though full of the most advanced ideas, the Declaration contained bourgeois limitations. The condemnation of slavery and slave trade, included in the first draft of the Declaration, was omitted in the final version at the insistence of the slave traders and slave-owners in Congress.

The End of the War. The battles in the War of Independence were fought with changing success. But in autumn 1777 the American troops and New England militiamen won a resounding victory at Saratoga where they surrounded and took prisoner the 6,000-strong English army. This was the

turning-point in the war and it changed the international situation in favour of the Americans. On learning of the Battle of Saratoga, the French government which up till then had been providing secret aid to the United States so as to weaken England, its former rival, signed in February 1778 a treaty of alliance and a trade agreement with the Americans and declared war on England. Now the war was fought on two continents and oceans, particularly the Atlantic. Previously the English navy had only to deal with the American privateers — partly merchant, partly naval and partly piratical ships — which broke through the English blockade and seized English ships. Now French flotillas were crossing the Atlantic. In 1780 on the initiative and example of Russia, which founded the League of Neutrals, many countries declared their “armed neutrality” at sea and this brought about the virtual international isolation of England.

The English directed their main thrust in the South of the United States, but in the hinterland they came up against strong resistance from the farmers, who attacked both the English soldiers and the local counterrevolutionary Loyalists. The American soldiers were also supported by partisans in the South and their allies, the French. In autumn 1781 Washington’s forces and French troops commanded by Rochambeau and Lafayette surrounded a large English force under General Cornwallis at Yorktown on the Virginian coast. The French navy approached the town from the sea and kept off the English warships and on October 19, 1781 the English army surrendered. This virtually put an end to the war on the American continent. Long and complicated peace talks concluded with, first, the preliminary agreement of 1782 and finally, the formal peace treaty of 1783.

The United States of America During the First Years of Independence. The Constitution of the United States. The new power came out of the war with its economy in a weakened state. The trading links of the pre-war and the war period had been severed. Industry, which had grown during the years of the boycott, the blockade and the war, now suffered a recession. Money issued by all States fell in value. In the South there was a shortage of labour, which even during the war had led to problems in recruiting for the army.

The revolution had brought about considerable changes in land relations. The lands belonging to the Loyalists, who left the country in tens of thousands—mainly to Canada and the English West Indian colonies, were confiscated and redistributed among the small landowners or fell into the hands of the land speculators. The westward movement had continued throughout the war and become even stronger after it. Furthermore, these lands were claimed by different States, which caused friction between them. As a result they were declared national property.

Politically speaking, the United States of America was not a unified whole. The first Constitution of the country, called the Articles of Confederation and adopted by Congress in 1777, but only ratified by the States in 1781, gave virtual independence to individual States—including the right to declare war. The Confederate Congress was purely a consultative body and even its budget was made up of voluntary contributions by the States.

But now the treasury was empty. Meanwhile, the nation was burdened with war debts and the troops were demanding their pay and promised privileges. Between 1781 and 1783 while the army was being demobilized there was considerable unrest among the officers and men and even attempts to organize a coup d'état. To put down this discontent at least partially, they were given land.

After the war was over and the main enemy—the Loyalists—were gone, conflict broke out amongst the patriots. The people expected more from the revolution than it gave them. Furthermore, it was on them that the economic burdens of the post-war mainly fell. The payment of debts, both Federal and private at a time when valueless paper money was being replaced by hard coins, resulted in the impoverishment of many farmers and artisans who subsequently ended up in the debtors' prisons. For this reason, there was a popular demand for "cheap money" and demonstrations against the payment of debts. This reached its zenith with the Shays uprising in 1786-1787, in which many former soldiers took part. The uprising swept Massachusetts and other states of New England and threw the American bourgeoisie into a state of disarray.

In 1787, the Constitutional Convention was held in Philadelphia. It consisted of representatives from the States

(all of whom were property owners) who convened to review the Articles of Confederation. They met for several months under Washington's chairmanship and despite considerable internal disagreements managed ultimately to form a new Constitution of the United States. This Constitution still functions today, though with many amendments. According to the Constitution the United States changed from a vague federation to a union state headed by a president who was invested with exceptionally great powers and also in command of the armed forces. Congress now consisted of two chambers—the House of Representatives, where each State sent delegates according to the size of its population, and the Senate where each State was represented by two members. Voting rights were controlled by the individual States, which as a rule imposed various property qualifications. The Supreme Court was instituted with the right to repeal any of the laws if it ran counter to the Constitution. Thus there was a division of powers into the legislative, the executive and the judiciary.

As soon as the Constitution was published (it came into force after ratification by nine of the thirteen States), polemical debates took place in the press, at meetings and in the streets. Those who supported it were known as the Federalists. The Antifederalists, headed by Jefferson and Henry, represented the farmers, the plebeian masses in the towns and some of the Southern planters who did not want limitations put on the rights of the States. The Constitution was ratified in 1788 and on the insistence of the majority of States it was supplemented in 1791 by ten amendments—the Bill of Rights, as it was called, which provided for freedom of speech, of the press, assembly, and religion, the separation of the Church from the state, the inviolability of person, a jury system and the rights of the accused in court.

In a country which had at the time some four million people federal unity was now established and the people managed to gain democratic freedoms as expressed in the Bill of Rights. The Constitution which incorporated this Bill, instituted a law-based country in North America with George Washington as its first president.

* * *

The War of Independence was a bourgeois revolution, which not only resulted in the national liberation of the American people, but also produced great social and economic changes that significantly accelerated the development of capitalism in North America. It did away with the feudal elements and sold the holdings of the Loyalists. The American revolution allowed the vast lands in the West to be opened up by the Federal government for the development of a capitalist economy. It stimulated the development of trade and industry and freed them from the shackles of English colonialism. It accelerated the disappearance of the system of bondsmen and laid the foundations of a working class. It helped the formation of the first bourgeois-democratic republic in Modern History.

In the South, however, slavery continued to exist and no democratic solution was reached for the land question. Federalism was only in its infancy. It was these problems that affected the subsequent historical development of the United States.

The American revolution had great social significance internationally. It enormously influenced the struggle of the European peoples against the feudal-absolutist system, particularly in France which was on the threshold of its own revolution. The Declaration of Independence greatly affected the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, which was adopted at the beginning of the French revolution. The victory of the North Americans in the War of Independence also influenced the liberation movement of the Latin American peoples against Spanish domination. The War of Independence was welcomed by people in many countries of the world.

Chapter IV

FRANCE DURING THE LATE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

Social and Economic Development. During the second half of the 17th century France was one of the largest and most centralized states in Europe. Its victory in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) ensured that country military and political domination on the continent.

France was an agrarian country with peasants making up approximately 90 per cent of its population. The war cost them dearly: taxation increased almost threefold and many peasants were killed or wounded in battles. But after the war manufactories using peasant labour sprang up all over the country. These were mainly textile mills, producing both for domestic consumption and export. French industry was largely involved with the production of luxury items like rich fabrics, tapestries, clocks and wines. But there were also centralized manufactories producing weaponry, paper, books, etc. In some of the fertile northern regions of France a certain amount of capitalistic renting went on, but for all this France was a classical feudal country.

The French nobility, which lived off its peasants and its estates, was becoming impoverished. The "nobility of the robe", i.e., the court and the judiciary, was, however, increasing through intake from the bourgeoisie. But unlike the English gentry the French nobleman was not permitted to engage in trade or industry. The military nobility—the "nobility of the spur"—was also going into decline. There were frequent purges among the nobles, in which the latter had to prove their rights before a court. In the early 17th century the nascent bourgeoisie was weak and laid no claims to political independence, needing the support of absolutism for the time being.

The second half of the 17th century saw an intensification of the struggle against absolutism, particularly during the time of Cardinal Richelieu (1624-1642). After the death of Richelieu and Louis XIII (1643) the country was virtually ruled by Cardinal Jules Mazarin, the Sicilian-born favourite of Anne of Austria, mother of Louis XIV, who acted as regent until the child came of age (he was five years old at the time).

Mazarin and the Fronde. Mazarin was a clever and ingenious politician and tried, like Richelieu, to pursue a policy of absolutism. This gave rise to indignation in various strata of society. In the south-west of France there was a peasant uprising which had to be put down by troops. The local town councils also found themselves in opposition to the government, which required their sanction for new taxes. When the Paris Parliament—the highest judicial chamber in the country—refused to approve the taxes, the king ordered its sessions to be closed. A conflict erupted and the Paris Parliament decided on a number of reforms against the royal decrees. This decision was supported by the people and the city magistrates. But in 1648 two leaders of the Paris Parliament were arrested and thousands of barricades went up all over the city in answer. This opposition movement was known as the Fronde. It is usually referred to as a parliamentary body, although it was actually a broad, popular front, which lasted from 1648 to 1649. From 1650 to 1653 a second Fronde was headed by some of the aristocracy who wanted to limit the king's power and call the States-General. This Fronde was called the Fronde of the Princes, but Mazarin managed to defeat this Fronde as well.

The Absolutism of Louis XIV. In 1661 Mazarin died and Louis XIV began to rule autocratically. It was under his reign that French absolutism reached its zenith, but it was also the beginning of its decline. This period is often called the “golden age”, or the “age of Louis XIV” and he himself was known as the Sun King.

Under Louis XIV the power of the king grew, as did that of the centralized state. The extolling of the person of the king, the ceremonial pageantry of the court, the unending festivities and the splendour of the king's new residence at

Versailles all symbolized the grandeur of absolutism. One of Louis XIV's favourite phrases was: "L'Etat c'est moi!"

But the wealth of the state was eaten up by wars. Of the 54 years of Louis XIV's reign 33 were spent in conducting wars. But their main aim, which was hegemony in Europe, was not achieved. The wars which France waged almost continuously both with individual countries and coalitions of countries were extremely costly in resources and human life. As a result of the four wars which France waged under Louis XIV the population of the country was considerably reduced. In the last quarter of the 17th century it totalled 15 million; in the early 18th century the figure dropped to 12 million. Particularly bad was the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). It was during this war that uprisings in the Sevenne Mountains led by the chemise were continually breaking out. (These latter were named from the white chemises they wore over their clothes).

The wars did much economic damage to the state. In Paris and other towns mass discontent was rife, often shared by the bourgeoisie and even the nobility. Uprisings and rebellions were common. Even the attempts of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the Director-General of Industry, Trade and Finance, could not get France out of its difficult economic situation. Colbert pursued a policy of active mercantilism, introducing protectionist tariffs, subsidizing the large-scale manufactories and granting them various privileges. The East India, West India and Levantine Trading companies were also set up with state help to win and exploit the new colonies.

The Crisis of French Absolutism. After Louis XIV's death the throne went to his five-year-old great grandson, Louis XV (1715-1774), but for 8 years the country was ruled by Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, as regent. The main goal of the new government was to get the country out of its economic crisis. The Director-General of Finance was a Scotsman named John Law, who caused a financial crisis by printing an enormous amount of unbacked banknotes.

From the 1740s to the 1760s France fought two wars which worsened the already difficult economic situation. The war against Austria which it fought together with Prussia (1741-1748) and the Seven Years' War against England (1756-1763)

resulted in the loss of French colonies in the New World and India.

The financial crisis was made even worse by enormous expenditure on luxuries and on the upkeep of a parasitic court. The king just spent his time hunting and with his two mistresses, the Marquise de Pompadour and the Comtesse du Barry. Not for nothing were the words "Après nous que le déluge" attributed to Louis XV.

The mid-18th century saw the accelerated development of industry, trade and agriculture. The population of the country began to grow and by 1790 had reached 26 million, 84 per cent of whom lived on the land. The introduction of the capitalist system in agrarian relations began in earnest. And with it came the social differentiation of the peasantry. In some parts of France the noble landowners went over to capitalist farming methods. The peasants had about 40 per cent of the land in the form of *censiva* (holding of land by the right of inheritance in perpetuity). The peasant could not leave the land, but the owner could not drive him off the land. Approximately 90 per cent of the peasant population were free, but here and there the personal dependence of the peasant in the form of *servage* (serfdom) was still retained. Both free and dependent peasants were shackled by innumerable traditional customs. For example, *mortmain*, payment for the baking of bread and for the milling of flour on the noble's property survived almost up to the revolution, although for a long time there had been neither ovens, nor mills on the estates or even the feudal lords themselves. There were also a *champart* (a feudal lord's share of produce), a tithe to the church and all kinds of road and bridge tolls and other dues. Although France remained an agricultural country, industry was already beginning to play an important role in the economy. Handicrafts were the most widespread, but manufactories also reached a high level of development. The number of large-scale centralized manufactories increased and many were beginning to use machines.

A common national market was rapidly forming throughout the country and domestic and foreign trade were developing.

As capitalist relations grew, so did the role of the trading and industrial bourgeoisie, making it more economic and so-

cially important. But further development of capitalism in France was impeded by the feudal-absolutist system. Hence the need to do away with feudalism which retained itself in agriculture, with the guilds and the granting of monopoly privileges to special companies and owners of "royal manufactories" in towns. Other vestiges of feudal fragmentation such as the lack of a single system of weights and measures and internal customs duties also hampered the formation of a common national market.

The rising bourgeoisie were also discontented at the social inequality which gave special privileges to the nobility and the clergy. The latter two were exempted from paying taxes and could occupy the highest posts in the administration, the courts and the army. During the second half of the 18th century a huge wave of opposition rose against absolutism, and the bourgeoisie which no longer needed absolutist patronage stood at the head of this opposition. And here the people, particularly the peasantry, were its potential ally. So too were that section of the nobility who had themselves become bourgeois. The local parliaments and particularly the Paris Parliament were also opposed to absolutism, though their demands were made in favour of the privileged estates and hence they represented the aristocratic opposition to absolutism.

Thus by the end of the 18th century there was deep-seated social discontent on the part of the bourgeoisie, the liberal nobility, the peasants and the hired labourers.

The Enlightenment. The middle of the 18th century saw the tremendous upsurge of the French Enlightenment—a broad ideological current, reflecting the antifeudal aspirations of the French bourgeoisie and the people. This Enlightenment was the work of a shining constellation of philosophers, writers and teachers, who produced vast numbers of books and encyclopaedias in many fields of learning. By the mid-18th century there were more than 600 such works available. They included multivolume encyclopaedias like Buffon's *L'Histoire Naturelle*, and *L'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* by Diderot and D'Alembert. There were books on the voyages and expeditions of James Cook, La Perouse, and Pedro Reinel which became well known all over France. Before the 18th century libraries had been owned solely by the aristocracy

and the monasteries, but by the middle of the 18th century they were being collected by such diverse people as writers, civil servants, apothecaries and tax-collectors. Many French towns had their own book auctions. Books were printed in Holland and Switzerland and brought into France by the hundreds. By the latter part of the 18th century secret printing houses existed all over France together with warehouses full of banned books. A cultural secularization of sorts was taking place – people were shaking off the cultural oppression of the Church.

The French enlighteners – philosophers, writers, economists, historians – were firm opponents of the feudal-absolutist system. They were mercilessly critical of its ideological foundations and stood for freedom and civic equality.

The spiritual leaders of this current were Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert and others. Their ideas contained enormous revolutionary potential and played a big role in France's cultural development during the 18th century. They had great influence on Europe, North and South Americas, Russia and other countries.

The Eve of the Revolution. The crisis in the feudal-absolutist system in France became sharply exacerbated towards the end of the 1780s. In 1787-1789 trade and industry were hit by a crisis, which was made worse by the conclusion in 1786 of an agreement with England that allowed cheaper English goods to come to the French market. Economic recession, industrial stagnation and consequent mass unemployment swept through the country. An exceptionally harsh winter caused a bad harvest in 1788 and the destruction of vineyards. Grain was in short supply and food rocketed in price, bringing extreme social distress throughout the country.

At the same time it became clear that the ruling class was incapable of finding a way out of the crisis. In 1775 the country's debts amounted to 1.5 billion livres; by 1789 they had trebled. The monarchy was on the threshold of financial bankruptcy. The Director-General, Turgot, proposed that part of the taxes should be paid by the privileged estates and a plan was drawn up for a direct land tax that was levied irrespective of estate.

Hoping to get the support of the nobility and the clergy – the two privileged estates – the king called together an as-

sembly of the Notables, chosen by him from the most eminent representatives of these estates. But they refused outright to approve the proposed reforms and called for the holding of the States-General in the expectation that they would thus bring limitations on the king's power and advance their own interests. The idea of convening the States-General, which had not met since 1614, was welcomed by large sections of the Third Estate, particularly the bourgeoisie, since they could now make their weight politically effective. The States-General were to assemble in the spring of 1789. In towns and villages mandates were given to delegates, mandates which contained the demands and aspirations of the estates. For the most part the peasants put forward no political demands. What they wanted mostly was an end to the "bad customs", as they called them and a lowering of taxation. The merchants wanted an end to the medieval regulations that governed industry, equal taxation for all estates and in some cases limitations on the power of the king. The word "constitution" was bandied about and many hoped that the States-General would result in one. Louis XVI (reigned 1774-1793) was forced to make concessions. Jacques Necker, a Swiss banker, who was in favour of moderate reform and popular in bourgeois circles, was appointed Director-General of Finance.

Chapter V

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Revolutionary Situation. In the spring of 1788 unrest began to sweep the country. Bread riots, attacks on the landed estates, destruction of the tax offices and spontaneous worker demonstrations became common events. The largest worker demonstration was in Paris in reply to an attempt by a rich upholsterer, named Réveillon, to reduce workers' pay. The workers smashed up his house and his manufactory and fought hand to hand with the troops. Everywhere uncensored publications came out, written by members of the liberal nobility or the Third Estate. One of the most popular was the pamphlet written by the Abbe Siéyès and entitled "What is the Third Estate?". These publications formulated the bourgeois programme: civil equality, bourgeois rights and freedoms and limitation of the power of the monarchy through a representative institution.

On May 5, 1789 the States-General gathered at Versailles amid a huge crowd of people. They sat as in previous times according to estate. From the First Estate, the clergy, there were 291 delegates, some 200 of which were well acquainted with the problems of their parishioners and in favour of reform. The Second Estate, the nobility, was represented by 270 delegates, but only some 90 of these had liberal views.

The Third Estate had 578 delegates, the majority of whom were lawyers (200 persons) and members of the bourgeois intelligentsia. There were also 150 traders, bankers, industrialists and landowners, but none were members of the class that was sometimes then referred to as the Fourth Estate.

The delegates of the Third Estate rejected the estate principle of representation and at a meeting on June 17 declared themselves by a vote of 400 to 90 to be a National Assembly,

i.e., the authoritative representatives of the nation. The Assembly declared that taxes should only be paid so long as it remained in office. Some of the delegates of the First and the Second estates went over to the side of the Third Estate. The king then ordered the assembly hall to be closed and put under military guard. On June 20 the delegates to the National Assembly entered a sports hall and took an oath not to leave until they had drawn up a constitution.

The following day the majority of the clergy went over to the Third Estate and a day later 47 nobles joined them. On June 27 the king was forced to tell the other delegates of the privileged estates to join the National Assembly. On July 9 the National Assembly, now consisting of three estates, declared itself Constituent.

In an attempt to put down a budding revolution, the king tried to bring mercenary troops into Paris. On July 11 Necker was dismissed. On July 12 and 13 skirmishes were fought with the troops. The people seized the arms shops and armed themselves. The customs posts, where duty was collected from food brought into the city, were smashed up.

The First Period of the Revolution (July 14, 1789 to August 10, 1792). The Storming of the Bastille. The Constitutional Monarchy. On the morning of July 14 the people forced their way into La Maison des Invalides and seized weaponry from the arsenal. They then headed for the Bastille, which was a political prison and the symbol of arbitrariness and despotism. They demanded that the commandant remove the cannons from the towers and hand over the weapons that were contained in the fortress. When the commandant refused the Parisians together with soldiers of the French guard stormed the Bastille. The fortress-prison surrendered. The commandant, the Marquis de Launay, was beheaded and his head was impaled on a pike and carried round the city like a trophy. The Bastille was destroyed.

Three lists have been preserved of those who took the Bastille. One of them names 662 people and notes their occupations. Most of them—some 426 persons—were small shop owners and artisans. There were 149 apprentices, students and workers, 77 soldiers, 4 traders, 5 clerks and 1 teacher. In other words the Bastille was taken by members of the petty bourgeoisie, the inhabitants of the Parisian suburbs.

The storming of the Bastille was the beginning of the French revolution. It was followed by a powerful surge of popular unrest throughout the country. The people destroyed the old bodies of power and formed a people's militia. The peasants attacked the chateaux and the monasteries and seized the landed estates. Jean-Sylvain Bailly was elected mayor of Paris and the Marquis de Lafayette was appointed commander of the National Guard. Absolutism had to all intents and purposes been overthrown. The nobility began to leave the country. Real political power was now in the hands of the Constituent Assembly, which meant in effect in the hands of the new social class, the bourgeoisie.

Alarmed at the scale of the popular uprisings the Constituent Assembly passed two important acts in August 1789. On the night of August 4-5, which many contemporaries called the "night of miracles", a bill was drawn up which was adopted in the form of a number of decrees published between August 4 and 11 repealing estate privileges, feudal rights and church tithes and declaring the equality of all before the law in respect of the payment of taxes. But all the champarts and other land duties remained in force and could be redeemed. These decrees were the beginning of a policy of partial concessions to the peasants and made a large breach in feudal relations. At the same time the Assembly sent out punitive detachments against those peasants who wanted more radical measures taken. Announcements were made about the abolition of all kinds of privileges for various towns, localities and provinces. To calm the dissatisfied peasants and the urban plebs it was decided to publish the introduction to the future constitution, since the constitution itself could not be drawn up so quickly.

On August 26, 1789 the Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, a document of great revolutionary importance. It was based on the ideas of the Enlightenment. It proclaimed the equality of all before the law, the right to security and resistance to oppression, and the freedom of speech, of the press and conscience. Unquestionably the American Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776) exerted great influence on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. However, Article 17 of the French Declaration proclaimed the "sacred and inviolable right" to private property, which legitimized the

property inequality of bourgeois society, but on the other hand broke the bonds of feudalism and led the way to capitalist private ownership, an undoubtedly progressive step.

The revolution grew, but France's economic situation did not improve. Bread shortages, speculation and high prices increased popular discontent. On October 5 some 20,000 people advanced on Versailles, the residence of the royal family and the Constituent Assembly. The king's refusal to sign the Declaration of Rights and the decrees of August 4-11 resulted in an extreme loss of credibility in the monarch.

On the same day some 6,000 women forced their way into the Palace of Versailles, demanding that the royal family should be moved to Paris. On October 6 the king and the Constituent Assembly moved to the capital, the king now being effectively under the control of the people who forced him to sign the decrees of August 4-11 and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Thus the popular movement of October 5-6 upset the plans of the palace, strengthened first revolutionary gains and laid the groundwork for the subsequent development of the revolution.

The Constituent Assembly. Having strengthened its position, the Constituent Assembly, in which the big bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility had the majority, was able to continue its work and carry out further reforms. Prominent roles in the Assembly were played by the Marquis de Lafayette, who had taken part in the American revolution, and the Comte de Mirabeau, a born orator and a man of exceptional ability, unbridled passions and enormous ambition.

But at the Constituent Assembly there were new forces appearing, which had not yet moved to the front ranks. Among these were a young lawyer from Arras, Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794), and some of his followers.

In keeping with the principle of civic equality, the Assembly repealed between 1790 and 1791 the estates privileges and did away with the institution of hereditary nobility together with the nobles' coats of arms and titles. It established free enterprise in business and abolished state control and the guild system. The repeal of internal customs dues and the trade agreement with England of 1786 helped the formation of a national market.

The Assembly helped the bourgeoisie to establish a system of free competition and hired labour, refusing the workers the right to organize in defence of their interests. When in 1790 and 1791 workers' strikes became more frequent and unions began to appear, the Assembly declared martial law and dealt severely with the leaders and inciters, condemning them to death without trial. On July 14, 1791 the Le Chapelier Law (named after the delegate who proposed it) was passed banning organizations and strikes. This law was not repealed until 1864.

A new wave of peasant unrest forced the Assembly to return to the agrarian question. By a decree of November 2, 1789 the Constituent Assembly confiscated church lands, declared them national property and put them on sale. But since the price was high, it could only be bought up by the bourgeoisie and rich peasants. The poor peasants were unable to buy it.

The Constitution of 1791. In 1791 the Constituent Assembly completed its work on the Constitution. All citizens were divided into "active" and "passive", i.e., those who had the right to vote and those who did not. Active citizens were males of 25 years and over, who were property owners and paid direct taxes of not less than 1.5 to 3 livres (3-day average wage). The elections were two-tier: first the electors (some 50,000 in all) were elected and then the deputies. The electors had to be able to pay a ten-day tax, while the candidates for deputy had to be able to pay a tax of 1 mark of silver (equivalent to 52 livres) and also possess land. The Constitution did not extend to the colonies, where slavery was not abolished.

The Constitution established a bourgeois constitutional monarchy. Legislative power belonged to the one-chamber Legislative Assembly; executive power to the hereditary monarch and the ministers appointed by him. The king could for a time reject laws approved by the Assembly, since he had the right of veto.

France was divided into 83 departments in which power was exercised by elected councils and directories; the towns and villages, however, were governed by elected municipalities.

In this way the Constituent Assembly affirmed and endorsed the social and political domination of the big bourgeoisie. Social and political delineation began to take place in the camp of the revolution. The Third Estate was no longer united. The people and the more radical sections of the bourgeoisie were in favour of continuing the revolution, but the upper ranks of the bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility, having gained everything they wanted from it, were now keen to call a halt.

The Varennes Crisis. This delineation was clearly shown during the Varennes Crisis, caused by the king's attempt to flee. Louis XVI and his family decided to escape from Paris to Varennes, where many other of the fleeing aristocracy had gathered and where he hoped to get help from the nearby Austrian army in Belgium. On the night of June 21, 1791, disguised as a chauffeur and a maid Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette left Paris supposedly accompanying the Russian Baroness Korf (but in actual fact the French Comtesse de Tournelle), on her way to Belgium. But at the first post station the son of the postmaster recognized the king and a crowd of people forced the fleeing couple to return to Paris under convoy. It was this event that led to the formation of voluntary revolutionary defence detachments. On his return to Paris the king was put under guard and in the streets busts of the king were broken and he was openly declared a traitor.

The Clubs, the Societies and the Press. The dissatisfaction on the part of the people and a section of the liberal nobility with the moderate constitutional monarchists in power found its reflection in the clubs which were formed according to political interests and fulfilled the role of political parties, which did not as yet exist in France. These were the clubs of the Feuillants, the Jacobins and the Cordelières. From 1791 to 1792 the most democratic of these was the Cordelières Club, of which Marat, Danton and Desmoulins were members. Many of the *sociétés fraternelles* (fraternal societies) or associations of artisans and other passives attached themselves to this club. The Jacobin Club had great influence, bringing together people of various political views and having affiliated clubs in the provinces. In 1791 there were more

than 400 of these, and later more than 1,000. Both Robespierre and Mirabeau were members of the Jacobin Club.

The revolution also gave birth to numerous newspapers. *L'Ami du peuple*, published by Marat, enjoyed great prestige in the suburbs, in worker districts and in the societies. *Le Père Duchesne*, edited by Jacques-René Hébert, which exposed the aristocrats and the rich through a mixture of French folklore and street slang was also very popular.

The Beginning of the Revolutionary Wars. The revolution in France increasingly aroused the alarm and hatred of the monarchs and the nobility in the European powers, Austria and Prussia in particular. In February 1792 at the Schloss Pillnitz in Saxony these two countries concluded a military alliance against revolutionary France. King Louis and his supporters wanted a war, seeing it as the only thing that would save them from the revolution. Some of the Feuillants as well as Robespierre, Marat and many members of the Jacobin Club wanted no war. The Girondists, who were mainly the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie from the Department of Gironde and other departments, were for the war, believing that they would get a quick victory. In the end it was the war party who came out on top and on April 20, 1792 France declared war on Austria. France believed that it was waging a liberation war, since it was fighting against a counterrevolutionary monarchy.

But at first the war went badly for France. The old army was disorganized with many of the officers having fled the country. The volunteers were untrained, had no faith in their commanders and were poorly armed. The king was reluctant to approve decrees aimed at strengthening the country's fighting power. On July 6 Prussia entered the war and France was faced with a coalition.

On July 11 the Constituent Assembly under pressure from the people passed a decree of enormous importance, which proclaimed: "La Patrie en danger!". In Paris and in the provinces thousands of volunteers enlisted. The Marseilles Regiment, passing through Paris, brought with them the famous "Marseillaise", the battle song of the regiment which had been written by Rouget de Lisle, an officer serving in the regiment. And as in the words of the song the people rose to the defence of their country. The revolutionary upsurge grew

from below. The people came out against the counterrevolution and the royal court.

The Second Period of the Revolution. August 10, 1792-June 3, 1793. The Girondist Convention. The Legislative Assembly. After the adoption of the Constitution, the Legislative Assembly was opened on October 1, 1791. Its composition differed from that of the Constituent Assembly. The right wing was made up of Feuillants—financiers, negotiators, shipowners, slave traders, planters, big landowners and industrialists, who together with the liberal nobility were concerned to maintain the monarchy and the 1791 Constitution. The left wing of the Assembly was composed of deputies with ties to the Jacobin Club, who soon split into two factions—the Girondists and the Montagnards.

The Girondists represented the trading, industrial and new landed bourgeoisie mainly from the south, south-west and south-east departments, whose interests lay in the bourgeois reconstruction of society. At first they were also in support of the 1791 Constitution, but subsequently they went over to the republicans.

The Montagnards (thus named from the fact that in the Legislative Assembly they occupied the highest seats in the hall and were thus “up the hill” or on *la montagne*) were the extreme left faction of the deputies.

It was a time of mass revolutionary upsurge when even the passives and the poor took part in the work of the 48 sections of Paris. These sections made contact with each other and undertook collective action. It was they that largely laid the groundwork for the revolution of August 10, 1792.

The Uprising of August 10, 1792. On July 25 the Duke of Brunswick called upon the people of Paris in the name of the monarchs of Austria and Prussia to submit to their king or he would raze the city to the ground. In reply 47 of the 48 sections demanded that the Legislative Assembly depose Louis XVI and call a National Convention. But the Assembly refused. On the night of August 10 the tocsin was sounded over the streets of the capital—the sections had begun an uprising. Most chose their own commissars. Thus began the Insurrectionist Commune of Paris which subsequently seized power. Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette, who was to become the

prosecutor of the Commune, and the journalist Jacques-René Hébert were both elected members of the Insurrection Committee.

The members of the Committee announced that the Assembly was proposing to call a National Convention. The Girondist Ministers were returned to their posts which they had lost in July, without a vote. Danton was made a minister, although he was not a Girondist. On the same day the insurrectionists took the royal palace of the Tuileries. On August 13 the royal family were taken to the Château Temple, which also functioned as a prison. Payments to the king according to the civil list were stopped. On August 11 a decree was passed repealing the division of citizens into actives and passives, although the sections themselves had already done this as early as late July 1792. The Commune then proposed replacing the word *Monsieur* with *Citoyen*. All males over 21 and not in personal service had the vote, but electors and deputies (elections remained two-tier) had to be over 25. Voters had to have lived in one place for not less than one year.

On August 17 the Paris Commune formed a tribunal of judges and jury and on August 21 it began its work. A guillotine was built in the Place du Carrousel under the watchful eye of its inventor, Dr Joseph-Ignace Guillotin. First to fall victim was the recruiter of the king's soldiers. On August 26 a law was passed exiling all priests who refused to swear allegiance to the new regime. Decrees were also passed on selling the land of those who had fled the country and dividing common land between members of the rural community. But these decrees were not carried out and the matter was left undecided. The decree passed between August 25 and 28 stated that feudal dues would be repealed without redemption if the former landowner could not prove with the authentic deed that for the annual payment of these dues at the time the peasant received land from the then owner. Many landowners could not present such documents.

The constitutional monarchists were ousted and the Paris Commune now became, albeit with considerable opposition from the Girondists and the Montagnards, the main body of power in the city.

The Victory at Valmy. Meanwhile in August 19 the Prussian army crossed the French border and the Duke of Brunswick's troops took Verdun and Longwy. The Commune shut the city gates, built fortifications and began to enlist volunteers. On September 20 at the village of Valmy the revolutionary army beat off the Prussians' attack and forced them to retreat. This victory had enormous importance. It strengthened the fighting spirit of the French army and was the beginning of the period of victories. The Convention and the army now set themselves the task of giving help to the peoples in the neighbouring powers. From a speech by one of the members of the Convention the slogan was taken: "Peace to the Cottages, War on the Palaces!", which meant that on the territory occupied by French troops serfdom was abolished and the people were given sovereignty. As a result of the victories of the revolutionary army Savoy and Nice joined France together with the left bank of the Rhine and Belgium. Austria and Prussia were quite unprepared for such an outcome of events. England, which had hitherto been neutral, now took the side of the opponents of the French revolution. But as France became more and more successful militarily, so the coalition of anti-French forces grew.

The Opening of the Convention. The Proclamation of a Republic. The National Convention met on August 20, 1792 immediately following a session of the Legislative Assembly. In the Convention 749 deputies were elected from France and 34 from the colonies (only 18 of whom actually turned up). Despite the fact that the Convention was elected on the basis of universal suffrage (for men), almost all the elected deputies had immovable property of some kind. No more than 40 persons had practically no property at all.

The Girondists had 165 seats in the Convention, mainly filled by deputies from the provinces. Together they formed a right wing. Many of them left the Jacobin Club which now belonged to the Montagnards. The Girondists were now against further deepening of the revolution, believing that all their aims had been achieved. In August 1792 there were approximately 110 Montagnards, but their number had increased to 155 by the beginning of 1793. Their demands were for the king to be brought to trial and for the radical reforms

which had been started to continue. Some 500 persons were not part of these factions and they were called the Plain. On August 21 the Convention adopted the decree on the abolition of royal power and on September 22 France was proclaimed a republic.

In the winter of 1792-1793 the people in the towns and the villages were more insistently demanding that the revolution should be continued. The condition of the poor in the towns was particularly bad. Petitions were sent to the Convention demanding that fixed prices be set on bread and other foodstuffs.

The question of food supplies was discussed in the Convention but no decision was arrived at. Only the Paris Commune took measures to establish fixed bread prices. It bought flour at a high price and made up the difference from the city budget and then imposed that tax on the rich. The Convention decreed a tax, but this did not improve the condition of the poor. The question of fixed prices, particularly on bread, was continually discussed at the Convention. The sections and the Paris Commune were insistent in their demand for fixed prices. On May 4, 1793 the Jacobins got a decree passed fixing a maximum price for flour and grain and on May 20 a second decree forcing the rich to make a loan of one billion livres. The interests of the poor were protected by the sections of Paris who had their own troops. The Paris Commune was closely linked to the sections. In the Commune the prosecutor, Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette and his deputy Jacques-René Hébert worked vigorously. In the sections and in the Cordelières Club the interests of the poor were defended by a priest from one of the urban parishes, Jacques Roux, and a postal worker, Jacques Varlet. They demanded that the harshest measures be taken against bread speculators and profiteers. Some of their demands were accepted by the Convention.

By the spring of 1793 the land question had come up again. In some parts of the country the peasants had seized land. The Convention was forced to decree the sale in small lots of land that had once belonged to the emigres and the king. The Park of Versailles should have been divided into rented allotments. In the villages the rural poor tried to get the common lands divided up, the national estates sub-

divided and the large farms and holdings split up. But in reality very little was done to solve the agrarian question. The many proposals and projects for the land that were made in the Convention were only put into effect by the Jacobins.

The question of the punishment to be meted out to Louis XVI was debated inside and outside the Convention, in the streets of Paris and throughout the country. The deputies in the Convention differed sharply on this issue. In November 1793 secret correspondence was discovered between the king and the monarchs of the coalition discussing war against the republic. This decided the matter.

The Execution of Louis XVI. On the night of December 30 hundreds of people from the sections and the Paris Commune came to the Convention demanding that the king be executed for treason. After a number of heated debates 387 deputies at the last vote were in favour of execution; 344 voted in favour of imprisonment in chains. The death sentence was carried out at 11 a.m. on January 21, 1794 in front of a huge crowd of people. The following October Marie-Antoinette was sentenced to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal and similarly beheaded. The dauphin was given to a cobbler to learn the trade, but fell ill and died in 1795.

But despite the execution of the king and the passing of a number of decrees that were called for by the people, and despite the imposition of a maximum price on bread and grain and the reduced price of bread in Paris (3 sous), the struggle became even more fierce inside and outside Parliament. Relying on support from a number of departments, the Girondists threatened the Montagnards with the destruction of Paris. The Girondist Convention formed a Committee of Twelve to investigate what was going on in the sections and the Commune. An order was issued for the arrest of Hébert, Varlet and others, who were referred to as *les enragés* (the enraged). The Girondists were opposed by the united forces of the Commune, the sections, the Montagnards and members of the Cordelières Club. The people of Paris were also against the Girondists. As early as August 10 an Insurrection Committee was formed. On its orders an armed crowd of many thousands and soldiers of the National Guard surrounded the

Convention and set up 163 cannons. Wearing tricolour scarfs, the Girondists tried to escape through the crowd and hide, but to no avail. Vergniaud, Brissot and other Girondist leaders were arrested. The people's uprising was victorious. The Jacobins now came to power.

The Third Period of the Revolution: May 31-July 27 (Ninth of Thermidor) 1794. The Jacobin Dictatorship. The Jacobins came to power at one of the most critical moments of the French revolution. The superior armies of the European counterrevolutionary coalition were pushing the French forces back. In Vendée, Brittany and Normandy pro-monarchist rebellions were breaking out. In the south and south-west there were Girondist uprisings. Assassinations were carried out against the revolutionary leaders. On July 13 Jean-Paul Marat was stabbed by Charlotte Corday, and Joseph Chalier was murdered in Lyons. In answer to this counterrevolutionary terror which was raging through many of the towns of France, the Jacobins declared Revolutionary Terror.

Agrarian Legislation. The Jacobins came to power with the support of all groups of the Jacobin bloc, masses in the towns and villages and all those discontented with the Girondist Convention. The situation in Paris and throughout the country was complicated. Agriculture was falling into decline, since the Girondist Convention had called up 300,000 men to serve in the army and there was no one left to till the land.

Wishing to strengthen the ties between the Convention and the masses and thereby increase its own power, the Jacobins took up the question of land. On June 3, 1793 the Convention passed a decree on the sale in small plots of the land that had belonged to the emigres. This price could be paid by installments over a period of ten years. A law passed on June 10 stated that all common land was the property of the peasant communities. If one-third of the inhabitants of a village wanted a division of land, then that division had to be made. A decree of June 17, 1793 completely and gratuitously did away with all remaining feudal dues. The deeds of those who had formerly owned these feudal rights were to be handed in and burned over a three-month period.

The land became capitalist property. It could be bought and sold. This was undoubtedly a progressive step and in line with the aspirations of the bourgeoisie and the well-to-do peasantry. Having to a large degree satisfied the interests of many sections among the peasantry, the Convention got their support in the fight with the coalition and the rebels.

But food was still a problem. Speculation continued and prices rose. The sections and the Paris Commune and the enraged as before were demanding a maximum price for goods and resolute measures against speculation and price raising.

The enraged and the left Jacobins called for a deepening of the revolution. Danton, who headed the Committee of Public Safety and was one of the most active organizers both in the rear and at the front of the war against the coalition, Camille Desmoulins and others believed that the terror should be restricted and the revolutionary dictatorship changed. For this reason they were called the indulgents. Robespierre's faction, which included besides himself, his younger brother, Augustin Robespierre, Louis-Antoine de Saint-Just, Georges Couthon and Philippe Lebas wanted to hold on to power at any price. On the one hand they understood that it was necessary to satisfy the demands of the peasants and the urban poor, on the other, they did not wish to lose the support of the bourgeoisie and so made no attempt to discuss the question of dividing up the land, as the landless peasants and those who had little land were demanding.

The conflict between the factions in the Jacobin bloc became especially bitter after the adoption of the new Constitution.

The Constitution of 1793. On June 24, 1793 the Convention adopted the new Constitution. France was declared a republic with a unicameral Legislative Assembly, elected by direct universal suffrage for men over 21. The most important laws required the approval of the people at local electoral meetings. The Constitution proclaimed democratic rights and freedoms. The aim of society was declared to be the "general well-being of all". The right to uprising was proclaimed. Everyone was given the right to education and "luckless citizens" were given the right to

work and social aid. The right to own private property was endorsed in the Constitution, as was the right to hire labour. It proclaimed that non-intervention in the affairs of other peoples was a principle of France's foreign policy. Slavery was abolished in the colonies. But the Constitution provided no legal foundations or guarantees.

Jacques Roux, a priest in the section of Greville, one of the most revolutionary sections in Paris, was harshly critical of the Constitution. He was opposed not only by the indulgents and the Robespierrites, but also by the left Jacobins. The Constitution, however, was postponed "until the end of the war" and when the Jacobin Convention ceased to exist, so also did the Constitution.

The Victory Over Internal Counterrevolution and Intervention. During the autumn and winter of 1793-1794 a major turning-point came in the war. An amalgam took place in which the regular forces were merged with the untrained revolutionary volunteers. For the first time universal military conscription was introduced—no other country at the time had this—and soldiers going to the front took the oath before Jacques-Louis David's picture "Marat Assassinated".

In the winter of 1794 the federal insurrections were put down and the main Vandée forces were routed. France was liberated from the coalition armies. In June 1794 the French army won a resounding victory at Fleurus and advanced into Belgium, which it had earlier been forced to abandon. This was a victory for the French people led by the Jacobin Convention. The Paris Commune, the sections, the lower strata of society, Danton and the Dantonists and till the end of May 1793 even the Girondists all played a great role in winning the victory.

The Split in the Jacobin Camp. But the contradictions in the Jacobin camp got worse. The Committee of Public Safety—the main state body headed by the Incorruptible (as Robespierre used to be called)—made this split wider. The Robespierrites who represented the ideals of the petty-bourgeoisie and were in favour of a limited amount of personal property (1 shop, 1 house, 1 workshop, etc.), only tried at the very beginning of this period (after the revolution of May 31-

June 9) to reconcile all currents in the Jacobin bloc. After June 24, and particularly after the successes in the war they opposed the other Jacobin factions. First the enraged, then the left Jacobins and finally the indulgents. This conflict ended in the reign of terror.

The Convention, however, wished to weaken the influence of the extremists and meet the lower social strata halfway. Therefore, in late February and early March it passed the Ventose Decrees, as they were called, which shared out the property of "suspects" among the poor. But these decrees were never implemented.

Meanwhile Hébert, who had called for the overthrow of Robespierre and his clique, and Chaumette, who had been against it, were both sent to the guillotine along with Jacques Roux and others in March 1794. On April 5 sentence was passed on Danton and his friends and they were similarly guillotined. To the very last moment Danton didn't believe that they would condemn him. He was bold and even insolent in court.

Daily the tumbrels rolled into the Place du Carrousel with their cartloads of condemned to the amazement of Robespierre who began to see the counterrevolution as a hydra which for every head cut off grew another seven.

But the effects of Robespierre's Reign of Terror were beginning to tell on the people. Discontent was widespread both among the poor and the *nouveau riche* bourgeoisie. All wanted an end to the reign of terror and a return to peace. In spring 1794 the Jacobin bloc began to rapidly break up. An attempt to unite the people on the basis of a new religion, called the cult of the Supreme Being (i.e., reason, justice, love of one's native country, etc.) failed.

The Counterrevolutionary Coup of Ninth Thermidor. In a bid to strengthen their positions the Robespierrites passed a new law to toughen terror on July 10 which increased the number of those discontented with the situation and a plot was formed within the Convention. This plot was an open secret and Robespierre undoubtedly knew of it. The main role in the plot was played by Tallien and Barras, members of the Convention who had got rich during the revolution. Many could not forgive Robespierre for the way he dealt with their former comrades.

On Thermidor 8 (July 26), 1794, Robespierre made a speech in the Convention calling for vigilance. The following day, when Saint-Just was also making a speech, he was interrupted and accusations were made against Robespierre and his clique that they had usurped power. Disorder broke out. A deputy proposed that Robespierre should be arrested. There was momentary silence in the Convention. The deputy's proposal was supported by many other members of the Convention. Robespierre, his brother Augustin, Couthon, Lebas, Saint-Just and others were arrested and imprisoned. But the prison governor refused to accept the Incorruptible. The sections and the Paris Commune freed him and the other Robespierrites and brought them to the town hall. Everyone expected that Robespierre would offer resistance to the Convention. The soldiers stayed at the town hall till two o'clock in the morning, calling upon all the sections of Paris for help. But only 16 of the 48 sections sent contingents. But no one was in charge of liberating Robespierre and the contingents disbanded. The Convention troops then broke into the town hall. On the next day Robespierre and 22 of his supporters were sent to the guillotine. In the following two days more than 80 members of the Paris Commune were also guillotined. This was the end of the Jacobin dictatorship. The Convention had now been "purged" of the Jacobins.

The French revolution of the 18th century is rightfully called "Great". This revolution put such a complete end to feudalism and absolutism in the country as no other bourgeois revolution before or after. The French revolution determined the subsequent capitalist development not only of France. It shook the foundations of feudal absolutism and accelerated the development of bourgeois relations in other European countries. And under its influence the revolutionary movement in Latin America grew. The French revolution was led by the bourgeoisie, but its main moving force was the urban and rural masses. And it was this mass involvement that gave the French revolution the breadth and scope which distinguished it from other bourgeois revolutions. On this revolution Lenin wrote: "It is with good reason that it is called a great revolution. It did so much for the class that it served, for the bourgeoisie,

that it left its imprint on the entire nineteenth century, the century which gave civilization and culture to the whole of mankind. The great French revolutionaries served the interests of the bourgeoisie although they did not realize it for their vision was obscured by the words: 'liberty, equality and fraternity'; in the 19th century, however, what they had begun was continued, carried out piecemeal and finished in all parts of the world."*

* V.I. Lenin, "First All-Russia Congress on Adult Education, May 6-9, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, pp. 371-372.

Chapter VI

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. THE THERMIDOR CONVENTION AND THE DIRECTORY

The Thermidor Convention: Policies Against the Interests of the People. The Thermidor coup was the beginning of the end of the revolution which now moved down another path, a path that led France to the empire of Napoleon Bonaparte.

After 9th Thermidor (July 27) power passed into the hands of the Convention dominated by the bourgeoisie that had grown rich as a result of the revolution. The Thermidor Convention lasted from July 27, 1794 to October 26, 1795. The Jacobin Club and its branches throughout the country were immediately closed, the people's societies were broken up and the maximum price on goods was removed. Freedom of trade meant freedom to speculate; restaurants were opened. On the pretext of combatting terror harsh measures were taken against discontented poor.

In spring 1795, driven to despair by hunger and want, the poor of Paris rioted twice. On 12th Germinal (April 1) crowds discontented with the new regime flooded the streets of Paris with placards and slogans. The main demands were for bread and the 1793 Constitution. The crowd moved on the Convention, but was easily dispersed and many were arrested. This riot, which was the first attempt on the part of the people of Paris to oppose the Thermidor Convention, is usually called the Germinal Riot. The second riot, which was better organized, took place on 1st Prairial (May 20). During the Germinal Riot almost none of the demonstrators had been armed, but in the second uprising armed battalions of the National Guard took part. The insurrectionists (there were more than 20,000 of them as against some 11,000 in the earlier riots) seized the building of the Convention and held it for more than 24 hours. But ultimately the insurrection was

put down. The Montagnards, or what was left of them after the Thermidor takeover, were all shot. These insurrections showed that the Thermidor Convention pursued a policy which was against the interests of the people and therefore its rule after the revolutionary upsurge could not be long.

The Constitution of the Third Year of the Republic. In 1795 the Thermidor Convention passed a new constitution, the Constitution of the Third Year of the Republic (this was according to the revolutionary calendar adopted in 1793, which made the year 1792 the first year of the republic). This constitution retained the republic, but destroyed one of the main gains of the 1793 revolution — universal suffrage. It protected the rights of property owners, but many articles of the 1791 Constitution and many of the decrees adopted since 1792 were to all intents and purposes continued. The new Constitution confirmed and endorsed the ownership of nationalized property acquired during the revolution (from those who had fled the country, etc.). Instead of the Convention a Council of Elders was elected (250 men of 40 years and over) and a Council of Five Hundred. These two chambers had legislative power. The elections were two-tier, with no more than 32,000 electors. This legislative body elected a Directory, consisting of five directors with full executive powers.

The Directory. Immediately after the adoption of the Constitution the Convention was dissolved and power passed over to the Directory. The Council of Elders and the Council of Five Hundred were mainly composed of members of the Thermidor Convention. On the whole the policies of the Directory were pursued in the interests of the new bourgeoisie, the nouveau riche, who had got rich during the revolution. The masses not only got no economic or social benefits from the new regime, but their situation actually got worse despite the successes in the war. The composition of the Directory changed, but throughout the whole period of its rule (4th Brumaire 1795-18th Brumaire 1799) the condition of the urban plebs and the rural peasantry remained bad. Some of the members of the Legislative Corps understood the dangers of the worsening condition among the people and at times the Directory made some concessions to the "left". But

this was only after the failures sustained during the second half of its rule.

“Gracchus” Babeuf and the Society of Equals. In a situation of general discontent and disillusionment at the bitter realities of life, a number of far-sighted people began trying to do something to improve the lot of the oppressed. Prominent among these was François Noël Babeuf (1760-1797), a lawyer and a land-surveyor, who was the educated son of a poor soldier. A native of Picardy, Babeuf knew the life of the peasants well. Coming to Paris at the time of the revolution, he was also well acquainted with the life of the urban plebs. Babeuf worked on the food commissions of the Paris Commune and fought hard to get maximum prices imposed. He was close to the Hébertists, was critical of the Convention, particularly Robespierre, and almost immediately after the Thermidor takeover began the publication of *Le Tribune du peuple*, a newspaper which tried to advance his own ideas. In the first years of the revolution Babeuf was already a resolute opponent of private ownership of the land and worked for the distribution of nationalized property among the poor peasants for long-term lease, rather than its sale. Babeuf was arrested, but released, and then arrested again. He taught a kind of primitive egalitarianism. While in prison Babeuf became friendly with Augustin-Alexandre Darthé and Filippo-Michele Buonarroti and other revolutionaries and together with them organized *La Société des égaux* (the Society of Equals). The society made contacts outside the prison with militants and activists in the Paris sections. At the time of the Thermidor Convention Babeuf, who now called himself Gracchus after the name of the famous Roman tribune and reformer, changed his attitude towards the Jacobins, paying tribute to their desire to create a new society.

However, a traitor infiltrated the Society of Equals and betrayed them to the government. Babeuf and Darthé were executed and the rest were exiled or given various terms of hard labour. The political programme of the society, known as the *Manifeste des égaux* (Manifesto of Equals), was preserved by Filippo Buonarroti and later published in Belgium in 1828.

The Domestic and Foreign Policy of the Directory. Contemporaries called the domestic policy of the Directory a “see-saw”, which reflected the weakness and rottenness of the regime. Sometimes it sought the support of the Jacobins against the royalists and sometimes it opposed the democrats. But this policy of manoeuvring between opposing political camps could only be successful as long as the Directory was winning victories at the fronts. And the French armies with their new methods of waging war that had been developed by the revolution and their new tactics and strategy continued to win victories. But under the Directory the character of the war had changed sharply. It had started as a war to defend the French Republic, but from 1797 onwards it became a war to win foreign territory. The army in Northern Italy was commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte, who had defeated the Italians and the Austrians. He had marched into Austria through Italy and forced the former to sign a peace treaty at Campo Formio according to which Austria received Venice, Dalmatia and Istria, but was forced to give France Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine and the Ionian Islands. France now had what were called at the time “daughter republics”. From these vassal republics France took unique works of art and other items of considerable value. They also took the Pope from Rome.

But France’s main enemy was still England. In a bid to strike a sensitive blow at that country and undermine its colonial power, the Directory decided to send an expedition to India, but first to take Egypt since the route to India lay through the Arab countries. Napoleon Bonaparte was put in command of the expedition. He defeated the Egyptian army and won a famous battle at the pyramids (June 20, 1798). Encouraged by his victory Napoleon led his army on into Syria. But there conditions were bad—there was no fresh water and malaria cut down the French soldiers like grass.

On August 1 the English fleet under Nelson defeated the French squadron at Abukir, which had landed French troops in Egypt. This accelerated the formation of an anti-French coalition, which included England, Russia, Turkey, the Kingdom of Naples and Austria. War in Europe was renewed in spring 1799 and the French army was defeated in Germany. In Italy the French fared even worse, where Russian troops

commanded by Fieldmarshal Suvorov ousted them from both that country and the recently occupied Ionian Islands.

18th Brumaire. Military defeats and the danger of foreign invasion together with the inconsistency and contradictoriness of the Directory's policies alarmed the big bourgeoisie. Royalist rebellions, robbery in the towns and on the highways and the general absence of law and order convinced the bourgeoisie and even the majority of the urban population, particularly in Paris, of the need for a firm hand in charge. Some of the higher ranking military who were connected with Napoleon Bonaparte and other generals, wanted a military dictatorship. They maintained contact with him primarily through his brother, Lucien Bonaparte, who was close to government circles of the Directory and to the Parisian finance barons, since Napoleon at the time was with his army in Egypt. Napoleon was considered a staunch republican, known to have had close relations at one time with the Robespierre family and remembered for his putting down a royalist rebellion in Toulon. Napoleon handed over command of the army to General Kléber, and with 500 reliable grenadiers returned to France. Only three weeks elapsed from Bonaparte's return to Paris to the coup d'état which did away with the Directory on 18th Brumaire (November 9), 1799.

On that day rumours went round the lobbies of the Legislative Corps of a Jacobin plot. The session of the Corps was transferred immediately to the suburban Château Saint-Cloud, and Napoleon arrived there. On the journey from Paris to Saint-Cloud he made an agreement with two of the candidates for the new government, Emmanuel-Joseph Siéyès, former leader of the Constitutionalists, and the financier, Pierre-Roget Ducos. All five Directors promised Napoleon that they would resign. On that day, Lucien Bonaparte presided over the Council of Five Hundred. Napoleon appeared at the session, but since he wasn't a member, he was asked to leave. Then Napoleon's grenadiers, signalled to by Lucien, forced their way into the hall and in a few moments cleared it of Napoleon's opponents. The members of the Council of Five Hundred that were left in the hall together with a few members of the Chamber of Elders signed a decree transferring power to three consuls. The First Consul

was Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821). The Revolution was over and all power was now in the hands of the First Consul.

France During the Consulate and the Empire. Napoleon's Domestic Policy. After the coup d'etat of 18th Brumaire Napoleon was in a hurry to legalize his position. A new Constitution was adopted and more than three million Frenchmen voted in favour and only a thousand and a half against. This plebiscite was held under police supervision. According to the new Constitution France remained a republic, but virtually all power was concentrated in the hands of the First Consul. On paper legislative power belonged to the State Council, the Legislative Corps and the Tribunate, while for a ten-year period executive power was given to the Consuls. The First Consul, according to the Constitution, was commander-in-chief of the army and appointed members to all the bodies of legislative power, selecting them from candidates elected for a period of five years from among citizens over 21 (apart from those in service). Local self-government was done away with. The departments were governed by prefects, also appointed by the Consul. All ministers reported to the First Consul.

Napoleon Bonaparte was, of course, an exceptional person. He was a brilliant commander and a magnificent organizer. He fully understood that the main gains of the revolution could not be destroyed and retained everything that was beneficial to the bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry. Having established his dictatorship, he had the support of those whom the revolution had given wealth and land. His portrait was put on coins. In 1802 his birthday was declared a national holiday. A plebiscite held in the same year made him consul for life with the right to appoint his own successor. Napoleon had powers that some kings did not possess. Unlike the Jacobins Napoleon understood well the importance of the Church and tried to get it in the service of the new state. In 1801 he concluded a concordat with the Pope, whereby the separation of Church and state was repealed and religious holidays were restored. The Pope in his turn renounced all claims to church lands confiscated during the revolution and recognized state control over the clergy. In 1804 Napoleon was solemnly crowned by the Pope, but evidently unwilling to accept the throne from the latter's hands,

he snatched two crowns from the Pope and put one on his own head and the other on the head of his wife Josephine de Beauharnais. This "coronation" was immortalized in a painting by Louis David entitled "The Coronation" (of Josephine).

Napoleon's Foreign Policy. Napoleon's foreign policy was dictated by the interests of the bourgeoisie. It had one aim — to win France economic and political hegemony in Europe. Not one of the seven coalitions of European states — chief among which were England, Russia, Austria and Prussia — for all the temporary success of the first five coalitions could stand up against the French army. The French army was the first regular army in Europe, consisting to a large degree of free peasants who either had their own land or hoped to get it. They were not mercenaries, unlike soldiers in the armies of most other countries. The French army was led by skilful commanders, of whom the most skilful was Napoleon himself as well as being an outstanding statesman.

The Napoleonic Codes. Economic Development. In 1804, 1808 and 1811 civil, commercial and penal codes were published. These are generally known as the Napoleonic Codes. The codes were designed to regulate civil relations and protect bourgeois property. They were unquestionably progressive when compared to the legislation of the feudal-absolutist states, and created conditions in France for the development of free competition and the growth of productive forces. But the laws on the death penalty, corporal punishment and the position of women were left in force. The Le Chapelier Law was left untouched and workers' books, as they were called, were introduced. But at the same time the codes confirmed and endorsed the principles of the previous revolutionary constitutions: freedom of conscience, the equality of all before the law and the inviolability of personal property.

All in all the codes were beneficial to the economic development of France. Agriculture made great strides with grain cultures, viticulture, silkworm breeding and flax growing. The numbers of cattle increased. The peasants who comprised three-quarters of the population were free, possessed certain rights, owned land and could continue to acquire it, since the

sale of national estates continued. The result was the steady formation of rural bourgeoisie.

In industry, particularly in textiles, silks and metals many improvements began to be made eventually leading to the beginning of an industrial revolution. Thus the number of Spinning Jennies increased 10-fold (to 13,000 pieces) since the revolution. Steam-powered engines were introduced and there were more than 30 times the number of looms. During the first decade of the 19th century France's industry expanded more than 50 per cent. Councils were set up to control manufacture and trade. The financial system, which had been so badly shaken in previous years, was now put in order and a Bank of France was set up. The flow of money and valuables from the conquered countries, advantageous foreign trade deals and a protectionist policy helped with the development of the French economy. And as the economy developed, so did the bourgeoisie. Outside France in the conquered countries Napoleonic Codes destroyed the feudal system and for this reason a large part of the population of these countries sympathized with and aided Napoleon. The Napoleonic Codes were introduced both in the "daughter" and other dependent states like Switzerland, the Duchy of Warsaw, Belgium and a number of Italian states.

The Holy Roman Empire was done away with and in all "daughter" countries Napoleon set his brothers or relatives on the thrones.

The Resumption of War. All this caused considerable annoyance in Austria, Russia and Prussia and in the autumn of 1805 war was begun again. On October 21 the English Admiral Nelson defeated a combined Franco-Spanish fleet at Cape Trafalgar. But on December 2 the French won a brilliant victory over the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz. Austria was forced to make peace and recognize the French seizures in Italy. Joseph Napoleon, Napoleon's brother, was made King of Naples and Louis, another brother, became King of Holland. In 1806 at the Battles of Jena and Auerstedt the Prussian army—part of the fourth coalition (England, Russia, Prussia and Sweden)—was soundly defeated and Napoleon entered Berlin.

The Continental Blockade. Now Napoleon had only one serious enemy—England. He decided to try and undermine that country economically by closing the European market to it. A continental blockade was declared. All trade and other relations with England were absolutely forbidden. And this ban was extended to the “daughter” states and all of France’s dependent territories. England replied by seizing French and neutral trading vessels, blockading the French ports and despite all obstacles getting English goods into Europe and even into France. This blockade had a serious effect on many European countries, particularly Russia, since the Russian army was clothed in English cloth. But the blockade also had a serious effect on France. The ports were virtually paralyzed. In 1810 a system of licences was permitted. These licences were very expensive, but the French were forced to buy them.

The European countries, particularly Russia, could not reconcile themselves to the blockade. It made the problems between France and Russia even worse. After the defeat of Prussia, Russia and France continued to fight. In 1807 two major battles were fought in Eastern Prussia at Preussisch-Eylau and Friedland. The French won both, but at enormous cost. Both armies were bled white and both countries now wanted peace, if only for a short time. Napoleon finally understood that his main enemy was England and that without an alliance with Russia he could not overcome that country.

The Treaty of Tilsit. On July 7, 1807 the two emperors met at Tilsit. The Prussian king was also there, but the main questions were decided without him. Napoleon and Alexander I concluded a Treaty of Peace and Alliance. According to this treaty, Russia recognized the territorial and political changes effected by Napoleon in Europe and became his ally against England. Russia recognized France’s hegemony in the West; Napoleon for his part promised Alexander to help further Russian claims in the Middle East and in Sweden. Russia also joined the continental blockade, which was especially important for Napoleon.

But this peace did not last long. Napoleon’s claims to European and world domination were not in Russia’s interest. Even during the talks at Tilsit obvious contradictions surfaced. Napoleon, for example, wanted to do away with Prus-

sia, but on Alexander's insistence it was kept as an independent state, although French troops remained on its territory until the payment of indemnities. Also relations between France and its vassal states worsened with the people of Spain and Portugal up in arms.

The Heyday of the Napoleonic Empire. In the spring of 1809 Austria, emboldened by the defeats of French troops in Spain, began a new war against France. The fifth anti-French coalition was formed which included Austria and England. The French beat the Austrians, but Napoleon was again brought face to face with the national liberation movement in the form of a peasant uprising in the Tyrol and partisan wars in Prussia and Westphalia. In 1809 a peace treaty was concluded in Vienna, according to which Austria was forced to give up part of its territory (with a population of more than 3.5 million).

The problems that the national liberation movement in the occupied countries caused the Napoleonic Empire got worse as the economic situation deteriorated. The continental blockade produced a shortage of raw materials in France which developed into an industrial crisis. The gravity of the situation prompted a secret meeting held between Alexander I and the French Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, in Erfurt in 1808. During the meeting Talleyrand gave the tsar to understand that Napoleon's policy was not unanimously supported in France. In bourgeois circles there were signs of discontent, but Napoleon did not understand this.

Hoping to perpetuate his line and his power Napoleon decided on a new marriage, since he had had no children from Josephine. First he wanted to marry the sister of Alexander I, but was refused. Then his choice fell on Marie-Louise, the daughter of the Austrian Emperor, Franz, since the Hapsburgs were the oldest imperial line in Europe. But on the wedding day Napoleon himself failed to turn up, sending instead Marshal Berthier. This was 1810, the year in which the Emperor of France enjoyed his greatest power.

The Aggravation of Franco-Russian Relations. In the same year Napoleon began to prepare for an expedition against Russia. Russia broke through the continental blockade allowing neutral ships into Russian ports. In 1811 customs ta-

riffs were imposed in Russia and a high duty had to be paid on French goods. All this led to a worsening of Franco-Russian relations. In planning war against Russia, Napoleon believed that if he were victorious, he would then be able to crush England, his main obstacle on the path to world domination.

By concluding an alliance with Prussia and Austria, Napoleon tried to bring about the diplomatic isolation of Russia, but in this he was unsuccessful.

The Invasion of Russia. Having amassed an enormous army (more than half a million men) on the Russian border, Napoleon put his crack troops in the vanguard. As well as Frenchmen the army also included tens of thousands of forcibly mobilized soldiers from the vassal states. The Russian army was just over 200,000.

On the night of June 24, 1812 Napoleon crossed the Neman. All Europe was confident of his victory, but England and Spain sympathized with Russia.

Napoleon tried to split the Russian armies up, but two armies joining up at Smolensk thwarted his plans. Heavy fighting took place, but ultimately the Russians were forced to retreat towards Moscow. Napoleon assumed that after the battle of Smolensk the Russians would immediately sue for peace, but this did not happen. The Napoleonic army advanced into the depths of Russia and the war became long and drawn out.

The Battle of Borodino and the Abandoning of Moscow. The people came to the defence of their country. At the village of Borodino on September 7 (August 26 by the old Russian calendar) one of the greatest battles of the war was fought. The Russians put 120,000 men in the field, the French 135,000. The latter lost 58,500 officers and men, which was a heavy blow to the army. The Russians' losses were also heavy—38,500—and they were forced to retreat to Moscow. But although the Russian army retreated, it was the disciplined retreat of a force still capable of fighting. The French, believing themselves to be the victors, advanced on Moscow.

On September 14 the French army marched into Moscow. On a hill at the entrance to the city Napoleon waited, expect-

ing that the boyars would come to him with the keys of the city and Alexander's proposals for peace. But they did not. The city was almost empty and left burning. Napoleon made several peace proposals to the tsar, but received no reply. The French soldiers thought they had won and that now the war was over, but they were given neither victory nor respite. In the city food ran short and in the rear the French army was continually attacked by partisans. On October 18, after a stay of one month and four days, Napoleon was forced to leave Moscow.

The Retreat. Napoleon led his army along the old Kaluga Highway, which as yet had been untouched by the war. But the Russians immediately attacked and forced the French to retreat to the Smolensk Highway, which had been badly damaged during the advance. The French army now began the long retreat, a retreat which for them proved disastrous. They were subjected to continual attacks from the Russian troops and the partisans. During the retreat Napoleon lost more than half the troops he had led out of Moscow. In just the three November days it took to cross the River Berezina the French suffered enormous casualties. Napoleon then rushed ahead with the advanced units of his army to Paris, but it was not till mid-December 1812 that the last 20,000 remaining troops crossed the Neman out of Russia. The "Russian expedition" was over.

The Sixth Coalition. The Battle of Nations. In the spring of 1813 the sixth coalition against France was formed consisting of Russia, England, Spain, Portugal, Prussia and Sweden. Subsequently Austria joined. After the retreat from Moscow the myth of the invincibility of the French army was shattered. Practically the whole of Europe was now against Napoleon. A proposal for peace on the condition that France withdrew from all its occupied territories was rejected by Napoleon. The members of the sixth coalition then concluded a treaty amongst themselves to wage war on France till the Napoleonic army had been completely defeated.

Between October 16 and 19 a decisive battle was fought at Leipzig. More than half a million men took part in this vicious, bloody clash, which has gone down in history as the Battle of Nations. The French suffered a defeat and were

forced to retreat across the Rhine. In early 1814 the allied armies invaded France and on March 31 took Paris. A Provisional Government under Talleyrand was formed. On May 30 at a meeting attended by the heads of state and diplomatic representatives of the allied states a peace treaty was signed. France was deprived of all territories occupied since the Revolution and its borders restored to those of 1792. The Senate proposed that Napoleon be deposed and the brother of Louis XVI, the Comte de Lille, was invited to return to France after an exile of more than twenty years as King Louis XVIII. This scion of the Bourbons had no understanding whatsoever of the changes which had taken place in his native country.

The Beginning of the Bourbon Restoration. The Comte de Lille arrived in France with a colourful crowd of emigres who demanded the return of their possessions. They were full of hatred for the revolution and what it had accomplished. At the insistence of Alexander I and other monarchs, Louis XVIII had even before his arrival in Paris proclaimed a charter establishing a constitutional monarchy in France. This provided for a two-chamber Parliament, the upper house of which was appointed by the king and the lower consisting of men over 40 who paid direct taxes of over 1,000 francs. Louis XVIII was forced to recognize the changes in land ownership that had taken place during the years of revolution and empire and agree to the removal of estate privileges. Napoleon abdicated and was exiled to the Island of Elba.

The returning emigres behaved as if there had been no revolution at all. They tried to return the country to the pre-revolutionary system. They dreamed about the return of their lands and the restoration of the feudal dues.

The Hundred Days. In October 1814 a congress was called in Vienna which was to decide the subsequent fate of France, and to abolish the political changes that had taken place in Europe as a result of the French revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Without consideration of the interests of peoples and nations the congress proceeded to recarve the map of Europe.

On Elba Napoleon watched closely the development of events in France. He also was aware of the sharp differences

of opinion between the members of the Vienna Congress. On March 1, 1815 together with a thousand trusted soldiers and a handful of officers Napoleon landed on the south coast of France and began to advance on Paris. Three weeks later he entered Paris at the head of troops who had been sent against him but had gone over to his side.

Louis XVIII and his court fled. The ease with which Napoleon again took power in France is explained by the tremendous hatred of the people, particularly the peasantry and the army, towards the Bourbons.

Napoleon's last military expedition was against Belgium. On June 18, 1815 a battle took place at Waterloo near Brussels between the allied armies and Napoleon's troops as a result of which Napoleon suffered a heavy defeat. On June 22 Napoleon was taken prisoner by the English. He abdicated once more and was exiled to the Island of St Helena, where he died in May 1821.

After the second restoration of the Bourbons a wave of "white terror" swept through France.

Chapter VII

GERMANY IN THE 17th-EARLY 19th CENTURIES

The Political, Social and Economic Development of the Country in the Late 17th Century. On October 24, 1648 at two congresses held in the Westphalian towns of Münster and Osnabrück a treaty was signed, known as the Peace of Westphalia, which put an end to the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). The treaty addressed itself to three main problems: territorial changes on the political map of Europe; religious relations in Germany; and the political structure of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. By the treaty Sweden received Western Pomerania, part of Eastern Pomerania, the Diocese of Bremen (without the city itself) and the Island of Rügen. Sweden also retained important ports on the Baltic and North Sea coasts and the mouths of three waterways that were important for shipping—the Elbe, the Oder and the Weser. France received Alsace and had its sovereignty confirmed over Metz, Thule and Verdun. The German principalities of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Brunswick-Lüneburg increased their territories at the expense of the secularized diocesan and monasterial lands. These changes lasted for almost a century.

The religious question was decided in accordance with the terms of the Peace of Augsburg (1555), according to which the religion of the monarch determined the religion of his subjects. The right of the princes to change the religion of their subjects increased religious fragmentation throughout the country and brought about a massive migration of the population.

The Peace of Westphalia endorsed the territorial fragmentation of the country, which was conditioned by the social and economic characteristics of its subsequent develop-

ment and lack of economic unity. The princes were given the right of sovereignty and could henceforth conclude treaties among themselves and with foreign powers with the proviso that these treaties should not be used against the interests of the empire. But in fact this proviso was senseless: the empire had already virtually ceased to exist. It had been replaced by a motley collection of lay and ecclesiastical states, free cities and imperial shires. After the Peace of Westphalia the word "Germany" was hardly to be found in the documents for at least a century. In its place was the political abstraction, known as the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which was in fact neither holy, nor Roman, nor imperial. This amorphous amalgamation in which legalized anarchy reigned covered an enormous area of 12,000 sq m and had a population of some 30 million. The empire was divided into a great number of independent states. It was said that it had as many states as the year had days. In actual fact it had considerably more, since besides the 300 domains in the empire there were another 1,500 imperial shires ruled by knights who were the absolute arbiters of their subjects' fate. The independence of the princes who made up the empire was so great that during wars, particularly those fought against France, some formed alliances with the enemy and openly fought against their own emperor.

The emperor was formally the head of the empire, elected by a collegium of Electors, the highest ranking persons among the Church and the laity in Bohemia, Brandenburg, Cologne, Trier, Mainz, Saxony and Pfalz, but lacked any real power. No less illusory was the power of the imperial Reichstag. It consisted of three *curiae* – the Electors, the princes and the cities. Decisions required the unanimous support of all three *curiae* and the emperor, who was the chairman of the Reichstag. Such unanimity rarely happened. The Reichstag was permanently in session, but never achieved even the minimum of results. Some of the territories in the empire were owned by foreign monarchs – the principality of Hanover belonged to the King of England, part of Pomerania belonged to the King of Sweden, and the Duchy of Holstein belonged to the King of Denmark.

The Thirty Years' War brought Germany not only the loss of territory, but a state of deep economic, political and cultural decline. Hunger, epidemics and the forced removal

abroad of the best artisans resulted in the devastation of enormous areas. One-time flourishing villages were swept from the face of the earth and in some remaining towns two-thirds of the houses were empty. During the thirty years of the war the population dropped from 16 to 10 million, and it took a whole century to achieve the pre-war level. The population was further demoralized by gangs of pillagers comprised of mercenaries of various nationalities. Handicrafts and trade went into decline.

Most of all it was the countryside which suffered, where feudalism continued to reign supreme, although in various forms. In the eastern provinces—Pomerania, Eastern Prussia, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg—the peasants were again being made serfs. They lost even the rights to their own land, which they had had according to feudal custom. All three types of serfdom—personal, landed and judiciary—were concentrated in the hands of the landlord. The main reason for this was the extremely favourable conditions which existed in these regions for the production and, more important, the export of agricultural produce. Revenue from export was so high and so consistent that the landlords readily drove the peasants off their own land and forced the latter to work for them. These actions were legalized by the feudal-absolutist state, which declared the peasants to be the hereditary subjects of their masters. Corvee was predominant, but there were also quite a number of peasant households with their own tools, most of which belonged to the non-hereditary owners of the land.

But this type of economy, the economy of the Prussian landowners, or Junkers as they were called, based on corvee only developed in the eastern part of the country. In the north-western regions large-scale land holdings were comparatively rare. Here the nobility were unwilling to run their own holdings, preferring to rent the land to the free peasants. The latter were the hereditary holders of their own plots, which were passed on to one heir alone.

In the south-west—Bavaria, Thuringia, Württemberg, Baden and other parts—the noble holdings were small and quit-rent was the most important source of a landowner's income. This was provided by the peasants in exchange for the use of their holdings. Here the Franconian land laws which

were practised allowed the peasants to bequeath land, divide it and even sell it.

Feudal relations, albeit in various forms, were retained everywhere. Furthermore, the impoverished landowners tried to improve their lot through increased exploitation of the peasantry. This gave rise to considerable protest in the form of mass demonstrations and clashes with the troops. The largest of these was the 1717 uprising in the region of Cottbus, which was put down by the King of Prussia.

The domination of the feudal system held up the development of trade and industry. In the majority of German towns the guild system was in practice and this kept strict controls on the number of master-craftsmen, making it almost impossible for an apprentice to become a master. In a number of places it was incumbent on the master himself to sell off his goods and pay the innumerable taxes. Production fell, as did the number of persons engaged in the crafts. The former craft centres went into decline. This drop in trade and industrial production resulted in the economic and political weakening of the towns. Many of the imperial towns became dependent on the princes, some retained their liberties, but the majority fell under the petty control of the monarchs. Germany became an agricultural country exporting agricultural produce—bread, meat, cattle, timber, flax and hemp. Its imports were mainly colonial products like silk, coffee, wine, tobacco and tea.

The economic revival began only during the early part of the 18th century. In the western regions, where the peasantry were free, it took the form of cottage industry. Rural craftsmen began to produce goods for sale on the market through middle men. This was the beginning of capitalist manufacture—dispersed manufacture. The impetus for this development came with the immigration to Germany of several thousand Huguenots following the repeal of the Edict of Nantes on religious tolerance. These immigrants, most of whom were craftsmen, enjoyed a number of privileges including exemption from the guild regulations.

But industry was slow in development, hampered as it was by the guild system and by the fact that many of the rural dwellers and those living in the trading places and engaged mainly in land tilling, continued to be made serfs. The main reason for the backwardness of German industry was the ab-

sence of a sizeable internal market: the villages, which were poverty-stricken and objects of feudal exploitation, could not be the consumers of industrial products to any considerable degree.

As a result of economic backwardness and political fragmentation the German bourgeoisie remained for a long time at the stage of the medieval burghers, subjected to the feudal-absolutist monarchy. This developed in them a subservience to authority and encouraged the establishment in Germany of the kind of state cult which restricted individual freedom and held back the development of democracy.

The 17th and 18th centuries saw the rise on the north-eastern and south-eastern borders of Germany of two powerful states — Austria and Prussia.

After the Thirty Years' War and the virtual collapse of their Empire, the Hapsburgs still retained the title of the Germano-Roman Emperors, but concentrated their attention on their own hereditary lands. The "Austrian Possessions", which subsequently became known as the Austrian Empire, were a conglomeration of various provinces inhabited by various peoples. The centre of this empire was formed by the provinces with a German-speaking population together with the Duchy of Austria. All these provinces and peoples were held together under a common threat from Turkey. But in 1683 the situation changed and the Turkish army seized the south-eastern part of the country and advanced on Vienna. Here, however, the Turks were defeated largely due to the efforts of the Polish army under King Jan Sobieski. The Battle of Vienna, which took place in September 1683, was the turning-point in the war with Turkey and the final blow which put the Turks on the defensive.

During the second half of the 18th century in the reign of Maria-Theresa (1741-1780) and her son, Josef II (1780-1790), Austria went through a period of enlightened absolutism, which was marked by the radical transformation of Austrian feudalism. The purpose of these transformations was to adapt an absolute monarchy to the interests of developing capitalist relations while retaining the leading role of the nobility. Under Maria-Theresa a general income tax law was passed, internal customs duties and other taxes were repealed and a reform of the state apparatus was undertaken. From 1771 to 1778 a number of laws were passed regulating

relations between the nobility and the peasantry. Corvee was reduced from five-six days a week to three days, the peasants were given the right to buy out their land holdings and the jurisdiction of the landowners was limited. In the reign of Josef II a law was passed (November 1, 1781) abolishing serfdom for the peasants in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Galicia. The peasant was given personal freedom, he could freely marry, leave his landowner's estate and take up any trade or craft. But for his land holdings the peasant had to provide corvee and perform a number of other duties for his landowner. In 1789 corvee was replaced by a tax in money.

Also progressive in character was the anti-ecclesiastical legislation, which did away with all discriminatory measures against the Protestant and Greek Orthodox Churches. These reforms were an objective help to the development of capitalism in the country.

Brandenburg and Prussia in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Austria's main rival in the struggle for hegemony over the empire was the Electorate of Brandenburg with its capital of Berlin (since 1486). As a result of the Thirty Years' War whole regions of Brandenburg had been laid waste. Even so the Peace of Westphalia gave the Elector Friedrich Wilhelm I (1640-1688) a considerable expansion of his possessions. In the reign of his son the electorate was given by the emperor the title of a kingdom (1701). This Kingdom of Prussia was considerably strengthened under Friedrich II (1740-1786), known as Friedrich the Great. Once he had ascended the throne he openly declared his adherence to the ideas of the Enlightenment and began a correspondence with Voltaire. His attitude to religion was as to that of a superstition necessary for the ruling of the people. However, he was a despot who despised the people and demanded complete subordination. Marx described him as a "friend of the Enlightenment with the help of flogging".* Under Friedrich II absolutism and militarism reached their zenith. But he also made a number of progressive reforms.

* Karl Marx, "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty", in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 418.

In an attempt to make the number of tax payers stable, Friedrich II banned peasants being driven from their land on his crown estates and granted them the right to bequeath their holdings. He would not allow the annexation of peasant land by landowners or the joining together of several small-holdings. The number of tax payers had to remain unchanged.

The king had an army of 200,000, which for the time was enormous and which was maintained entirely for aggressive purposes. During the first year of his reign he seized Silesia from Austria. The latter then managed to form a coalition with France, Russia, Sweden and Saxony and the Seven Years' War began. At the basis of the conflict were the two main contradictions of the era. First, the struggle between England and France for the colonies and world domination had entered a new stage. Secondly, rivalry between Austria and Prussia for hegemony in Germany had become particularly bitter. Furthermore, there was also the new vigorous intervention in the European conflict being made by the Russian Empire, which showed the growth of its international importance.

But the members of the anti-Prussian coalition were totally disunited, which allowed Friedrich II to defeat his enemies one by one. The Austrians were quickly defeated and the Saxonians capitulated. In 1759 the Prussians routed the French army at Rossbach. But their successes turned out to be temporary. In the first engagement with the Russian troops the Prussian army was defeated. Then in the summer of 1757 the Russians occupied Eastern Prussia and defeated the Prussians at the Battle of Gross-Jägersdorf. In 1758 the Prussians were defeated again at Zorndorf and in 1759 at the Battle of Kunersdorf the Russians destroyed the whole army of Friedrich II and in the following year took Berlin. Prussia's position seemed hopeless. But deliverance came from Petersburg. The Empress Yelizaveta Petrovna was succeeded on the throne by Peter III, who was a great admirer of Friedrich II. He renounced all the conquests in Prussia and intended to send that country help. This angered the Russian nobility, who gave their support to Catherine the Great making her empress as the result of a palace coup. She rejected the idea of alliance with Prussia, but did not renew the war. The Seven Years' War ended in 1763 with the Peace

of Hubertusburg which established a balance of power between Austria and Prussia, though rivalry between the two for hegemony in Germany, which had lasted for over a hundred years, increased constitutional anarchy and political chaos even more.

The German States and the French Revolution. The French revolution hit the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation like a bolt of lightning. On the one hand, it gave great impetus to the democratic movement, on the other, it produced a fanatic hatred on the part of the princes, especially those whose material interests had been directly affected. Many of these had had enormous estates in Alsace, Lorraine and Burgundy. The repeal of feudal rights in France meant their repeal everywhere in that country, and that included the estates of the German princes. The princes protested to the French government and demanded the complete restoration of their rights. But the Constituent Assembly refused. On April 20, 1792 revolutionary France declared war on Austria, which meant also declaring war on Prussia and other German states tied to Austria by alliances. This was the beginning of a long series of wars, which were at first waged by revolutionary France and then Napoleonic France. This was a time of great change in Germany. The old empire collapsed and with it the old obsolete political forms. The peoples united into a comparatively small number of kingdoms and duchies. Progressive reforms were carried out in many places; in others Napoleonic Codes were introduced.

The political map of Germany changed significantly. Dozens of states were done away with: in 1803 alone 112 small states with populations of three million were abolished. Comparatively strong states were set up as French dependencies and their borders were fixed in accordance with the political, economic and military interests of the French bourgeoisie, without regard for the national interests of the German people. They could exist only under conditions of occupation. The collapse of the Napoleonic Empire which came in 1815 once more changed radically the political map of Germany and once more without consideration of its national interests.

Chapter VIII

THE MULTINATIONAL EMPIRE OF THE HAPSBURGS FROM THE 17th CENTURY TO THE EARLY 19th CENTURY

The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia (1648) that ended it were an important stage in the rise of the Hapsburg dynasty and the turning of Austria into a great power. As a result of this war and the defeat of the Czechs at the Battle of Bila Hora (White Hill) in 1620, Czech crown lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) were annexed to the "hereditary possessions of the Hapsburgs", i.e., Austria. The Catholic dynasty was also ultimately victorious over its Protestant subjects. Many Protestants, including nobles and townsmen, merchants and artisans, were deprived of their property and exiled. One of the main historical consequences of the war and the Peace of Westphalia was the decline of the so-called Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and its conversion into an amorphous alliance of several hundred sovereign German states-cum-monarchies. Germany ceased to be a great power. The kings of Sweden and France, who were the guarantors of the Peace of Westphalia and the fragmentation of Germany, had the right to interfere at any time in the affairs of Germany. There had been a centuries-old struggle between the Hapsburgs and France for hegemony in Germany. The honorary title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire thus acquired a purely nominal sense.

Austria After the Peace of Westphalia. The Emperor Leopold I (1658-1705) had begun to create around Austria his own empire on the basis of the "hereditary possessions" in a bid to make that country into a great European power. For this purpose he introduced a single form of taxation throughout all his possessions and set up a central ministry for controlling them. In this way he undermined

the power of the local feudal estates. But at the very height of these reforms Austria was faced with the terrible threat of Ottoman invasion. During the latter part of the 17th century the armies of the sultan began systematic attacks on Venice, Poland and Russia. The first Austro-Turkish war began in 1663. Having defeated the army of the Prince of Transylvania, which for a period of one hundred and fifty years had been the main support and protector of Hungarian national statehood and culture, the forces of the sultan moved towards the borders of Austria. The Austrians with the support of Hungarian feudal lords won both the war and the final battle at St Gotthard. But against all expectations and logic Fieldmarshal Montecuculi, commander of the Austrian army, did not follow the battered and disorderly army of the enemy as it fled and Leopold I hurried to sign the Treaty of Vasvar (1664), by which the Ottomans were left with all their possessions.

Hungary Within the Hapsburg Empire. The emperor did not enjoy the fruits of this great military success because at the time he was trying to solve the complex and important question of tightening his grip on and virtually annexing the western and north-western parts of the Kingdom of Hungary. The Hungarian crown (the crown of St Istvan, the first king of Hungary) had come to the Hapsburgs through a marriage contract in 1526. But the central part of the country was occupied by the Ottomans; in the east was Transylvania existing as a semi-independent principality, while the west was under the power of the Austrian dynasty. But this power was weak and unstable. The Hapsburgs had not dared to change the old estate Constitution of the kingdom, according to which legislative power was divided between the king and the National Assembly. In the comitats* power was virtually exercised by the local nobility. The Hungarian feudal nobility was economically and politically well-organized. It frequently headed the numerous riots and uprisings that were made against the Hapsburgs, relying on armed support from the Transylvanian princes and the indomitable spirit of the Magyar people. It was the idea of the patriotic nobility to revolt

* Comitatus — an administrative division in Hungary. —Ed.

against the Hapsburgs in order to restore their own national monarchy.

The hurried conclusion of the Treaty of Vasvar at a time when the enticing prospect of driving the Ottomans out of the country had arisen, caused bitterness and despondency even among the pro-Hapsburg Catholic Hungarian aristocracy. Many of them accused the dynasty of failing in their solemn duty to defend Hungary from Ottoman invasion, since it was in the hope of getting effective help from Austria against the Turks that the Hungarians put the Hapsburgs on the Hungarian throne.

In 1670 Hungarian and Croatian feudal lords began plotting with the French court, but in the following year the plot was discovered and three of the conspirators were executed. Leopold I brought in mercenary troops and set a governor over the Hungarians. Many noblemen were accused of taking part in the plot by a military tribunal and their estates were confiscated. The higher clergy with the help of the troops carried out a merciless Counterreformation. Protestant churches and schools were occupied and priests and teachers sentenced to hard labour in the galleys like ordinary criminals. Thousands of noblemen, townsmen and serfs, in fear of the senseless brutality of their oppressors took to the north-eastern regions of the country that bordered on Transylvania. Here in 1670 there was an uprising of serfs and demoted soldiers and by 1678 this had become fully organized under the leadership of Imre Thokoly, a wealthy non-noble landowner. In two years he liberated almost the whole northern part of the kingdom from the Austrians. The Austrian court was forced to give up the idea of extending absolutist centralization to Hungary. Leopold I did away with the governorship and in 1681 after a gap of twenty years called the National Assembly, which elected Prince Pal Esterhazy as governor-general. The Assembly confirmed the privileges of the nobility and in certain areas allowed freedom of the Protestant faith. A large part of the nobility then ceased their uprising, though it was still continued by the peasants and the troops led by Thokoly, who was then forced to seek the patronage of the sultan. This had the effect of compromising the noble cause for which he had been fighting in the eyes of even his most devoted followers.

The War with Turkey. The Treaty of Karlowitz. The concessions made by the Viennese court to the Hungarian nobility came just in time, for a new war with Turkey was looming. In the summer of 1683 the Ottomans, emboldened by the successes of Thokoly's insurrectionist army and egged on by the French court, renewed hostilities. On July 10 the 200,000-strong army of the Grand Vizir Kara Mustafa laid siege to the imperial capital. The emperor and his court fled to the security of Linz, leaving the huge town with its garrison of 12,000 men to its own fate. The Viennese fought bravely, but the forces were unequal by far and by September virtually at an end. The European monarchs realized that Vienna was the last "natural" barrier in the path of the Ottoman Turks as they pressed inexorably on Europe. Through the mediation of Pope Innocent XI King Jan Sobieski of Poland concluded an alliance with the emperor, which was subsequently joined by Venice, Genoa, Tuscany, Portugal and Spain, and a few years later Russia. Thus was formed the Saint League of Christian Europe against the Islamic Ottoman Empire. At the moment when Kara Mustafa was preparing for the final storming of the besieged city help came to the beleaguered in the form of the united forces of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, and King Jan Sobieski of Poland. On September 12 they won a resounding victory over the Turks. Without giving the retreating enemy time to recover, the victors marched straight into Hungary and on September 2, 1686 after a bitter two-month siege took Buda, the ancient capital of the kingdom. A large part of Thokoly's troops who had taken part in the siege of Vienna joined the Austrian army and fought for the liberation of Hungary.

In 1687 Leopold I called the Hungarian National Assembly and won from them extremely important concessions favouring his dynasty. The estates renounced the right to choose a king and recognized the hereditary right of the Hapsburgs (through the male line) to the crown of St Istvan. The clause in the Golden Bull of 1222 on armed resistance to the king on the part of the nobles in the event of his violating the Constitution was also revoked. The emperor-king refused to return Transylvania to Hungary, declaring it first a vassal principality and subsequently his hereditary possession.

But war still continued. In 1688 the imperial army took the fortress of Belgrade and entered the Balkans. Alarmed at the

Austrian successes, Louis XIV, in violation of the truce signed with Leopold, invaded Pfalz and the Austrians were forced to send part of their troops into Germany. The war in the east dragged on with changing fortunes until Prince Eugene of Savoy was made commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces. He had distinguished himself in the battles of Vienna and Buda and at the age of thirty had risen to the rank of fieldmarshal. In 1697 he won a historic victory at Zenta which decided the fate of Hungary and made the empire into a great power. A year later, in 1699 the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed, which put an end to a century and a half of Ottoman rule over a considerable part of Hungary. Almost the whole territory of the kingdom was now liberated (including Transylvania and Croatia-Slovenia) with the exception of Timis-Banat, a small province in the south.

The war, which for ten years had raged over almost the entire territory of Hungary, had devastated the country. Furthermore, the imperial troops behaved here like a conquering army, shamelessly plundering the population. The rich trading town of Debrecen was reduced to abject poverty in one day. Provisioning the 60,000 to 80,000-strong army was a burden laid entirely upon the population. The court made generous handouts of land confiscated from the Hungarian nobles to foreigners—generals and suppliers of the army. Austrian absolutism was at last able to realize its long-cherished plan of first enslaving Hungary and then making it poor and Catholic.

Not that there was no resistance. In 1697 there had already been an uprising of serfs and deserters in the north-eastern part of Hungary centred on the town of Tokaj, famous for its wines. But without allies, organization or leadership they were soon put down.

The Liberation War of 1701-1711. The 18th century opened with another acute outburst of Hapsburg-Bourbon rivalry. The cause for this was the death of the childless Charles II of Spain, the last Hapsburg on the Spanish throne. In 1701 the War of the Spanish Succession broke out, involving almost every European power. A year later Austria was forced to fight on two fronts—against France and against Hungary, its ally. The new movement against the Hapsburgs was led by the twenty-five-year-old Ferenc Rakoczy (1676-

1735), a scion of the Transylvanian princes, who had distinguished themselves in many battles against the sultan and the emperor. The very name Rakoczy was a symbol of the struggle for national independence, since his step-father, Imre Thokoly, and his mother, the brave Ilona Zrinyi, had for three years (1685-1688) withstood an Austrian siege of the fortress of Munkacs (now the town of Mukachevo in the USSR).

A letter addressed to Louis XIV by Rakoczy was intercepted in spring 1701 by the Austrians and he himself was incarcerated in a fortress near Vienna. But thanks to his wife he was able to escape to Poland, where he remained in hiding. Here he received envoys from the peasants, begging him to stand at the head of an uprising. In May 1703 Rakoczy handed the peasant leaders the banner of the uprising which had on it the words: "With God for Our Country and Freedom!". Taking advantage of the fact that the bulk of Austrian forces were engaged in the West, Rakoczy was able to swiftly liberate a large part of the country. In 1704 his army approached the borders of Austria and threatened Vienna. The following year Rakoczy called the National Assembly, which accused the Hapsburgs of violating the Hungarian Constitution and refused to recognize the Emperor Josef I (1705-1711), who had followed Leopold I on the Austrian throne, as King of Hungary. Instead Rakoczy himself was proclaimed the ruling prince of Hungary. France gave Hungary symbolic help—equal to the pay of 5,000 soldiers, though at the time Rakoczy's army numbered 70,000. At one time he hoped to join up with a Franco-Bavarian force, but it was held up in the Tyrol and was unable to get to Vienna. Furthermore, Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough defeated the other Franco-Bavarian army at the Battle of Höchstett, thereby stopping their advance along the Danube. The French were thrown back across the Rhine and the strategic initiative passed to Austria and her allies, England and Holland.

Rakoczy began the building of a Hungarian national state. A Senate was formed for the decision of important matters of state and an Economic Council. National copper money was also introduced. Hungary's first national paper, *Mercurius Veridicus*, written in Latin, was published and new schools were opened. Science and art flourished. But the

main thing, on which the fate of the war and the country depended was to reconcile the irreconcilable contradictions of the two classes of society—the landed nobility, which already occupied leading positions in the army and the state, and the serfs. But this Rakoczy was unable to do, though he did try on many occasions to improve the luckless lot of the peasants. In 1708 he decreed that serfs who would serve in the army till the end of the war would be given their freedom. Serfs who served in the army were exempted from paying feudal dues to their landowners. For the first time in Hungarian history the nobility were made to pay taxes. But the latter did everything they could to sabotage these decrees, preventing their serfs from going into the army and forcing those that were in to return.

In the worsening internal political situation Rakoczy was in bad need of support from a powerful ally. And such in the situation which existed at the time could only be Russia. In 1707 he concluded an alliance with Peter the Great, exchanged embassies and acted as mediator in the Russian-French negotiations. But Russia was deeply entangled in a war with Sweden and was also fighting the Ottomans and was thus unable to give any substantial aid to its new ally. In 1708 even his good fortune in war started to desert Rakoczy. Strengthened by fresh reinforcements the Austrians began winning one victory after another in Hungary, and the Hungarian nobility became increasingly affected by a mood of appeasement. Under threat of excommunication the Papal throne demanded that Hungarian Catholics submit to their “legitimate king”, Josef I. Rakoczy hurried to Warsaw for a meeting with Peter the Great, putting Sandor Karolyi in command of the army and the negotiations with the Austrians, where his purpose was to gain time. But he signed the Szatmari Peace Treaty (1711) and compelled the Hungarians to lay down their arms. The conditions of the treaty were fairly reasonable: the emperor promised to respect the Hungarian Constitution and religious freedom. Those who fought in the war were given an amnesty and an amnesty was also offered to Rakoczy. But he preferred exile to shameful capitulation. From Warsaw he went to Versailles, but receiving no support from the King of France, went on to Turkey, where he lived for the rest of his days. Hungary did not win its independence, but the Szatmari Peace Treaty prevented the

Hapsburgs from spreading absolutism into Hungary. The Spanish war which ended with the signing in 1713-1714 of the Utrecht and Rastatt treaties, gave Austria neither Spain, nor Spanish America. But the Hapsburgs did get Sardinia, Milan, Mantua, Mirandola, the Spanish Netherlands (now Belgium) and a number of other territories on the Rhine. From 1716 to 1718 Austria took the last Hungarian territory, Banat, from the Ottoman Empire, part of Serbia including Belgrade and part of Bosnia and Walachia. In this way the empire of the Austrian Hapsburgs reached its largest territorial expansion throughout the country's history.

Social and Economic Development of the Empire. But this enormous power whose shores were washed by the waters of the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and the North seas, remained as before an amorphous amalgam. It had no common system of government and no common legislation, which might have given some kind of unity to an empire that included the Austrian "hereditary lands" proper together with the Czech lands, the Hungarian crown lands, Belgium and the Italian provinces. The various parts of the empire were governed by their own estate institutions and according to their own traditions, laws and customs. Sometimes they were in the charge of Austrian governors who had no apparatus of their own.

In both Austria and Hungary feudal relations were predominant with serfdom in the villages and guilds in the towns. The nucleus of the empire was the Austro-Czech provinces, where absolutism had to a certain extent achieved centralism. Here trade and manufacture developed. Governed by the principles of mercantilism, the state encouraged the export of cloth, silk, tafeta, brocade, glass and chinaware, but put restrictions on imports. In the early part of the 18th century a state bank was founded, mainly for the purpose of financing Austro-Czech manufacture. For exporting the Belgian port of Ostende was used where a merchant shipping company was set up. On the Adriatic there was Trieste and Fiume (Rijeka) where port facilities were set up. Roads also began to be built across the Alps linking these ports with Austria. This work was carried out mainly during the reign of Charles VI (1711-1740).

The Pragmatic Sanction. The War of the Austrian Succession. Considerable alarm was caused among the dynasty by the fact that the emperor was childless and there were no immediate male relatives. This threatened the dynasty with extinction. It was therefore decided to change the old law of succession so that Charles' daughter, Maria-Theresa, should ascend the throne after his death. In 1713 Charles proclaimed the Pragmatic Sanction, which permitted for the first time succession through the female line, and declared all possessions of the dynasty hereditary and indivisible. In 1723 the Sanction was recognized by the National Assembly of Hungary. Vienna also did everything it could to get formal recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction from the European courts. The last of these was Versailles.

But when in 1740 the emperor died and the twenty-three-year-old Maria-Theresa ascended the Austrian throne not only France and Prussia, despite their obligations, but also Bavaria, Spain and Savoy all laid claim to her rights. The Elector of Bavaria claimed the Austrian throne outright. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) was begun by Prussia when it took Silesia, the most developed and rich of the Austrian hereditary lands. Then Charles-Albert of Bavaria, whom the enemies of the Hapsburgs made King of Bohemia and Roman Emperor (Charles VII, 1742-1745), invaded Austria from the west. In this critical situation Austria was saved by Hungary. In answer to the entreaties of the empress and forgetting their own insults, the Hungarians sent her ten thousand of their finest troops and a sufficiently large sum of money. Maria-Theresa dealt quickly with the Bavarians, restored her power in Bohemia and returned her husband, Duke Francis of Lorraine, his title of Roman Emperor. But Silesia remained under the control of Friedrich II. By the Peace of Aachen she also surrendered Parma and Piacenza, but won the recognition by Europe of the Pragmatic Sanction.

The Seven Years' War. Maria-Theresa could not reconcile herself to the loss of Silesia, for which she was ready to take off, as she expressed it, her last skirt. She could not forgive the "perfidy" of England, which wouldn't lift a finger to help its ally. At the same time, with her new chancellor, Count

Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz one of the most prominent diplomats of the age, she began the formation of a new coalition against Prussia and radically reviewed the age-old priorities of traditional Austrian foreign policy. The idea for the new foreign political concept came from Kaunitz, who for a period of forty years (1753-1793) was alone in control of the foreign ministry. By his efforts and with the wholehearted support of Marquise de Pompadour the famous Treaty of Versailles was signed in 1756 which put an end to two centuries of enmity between Austria and France. London's reply to this was the immediate signing of the Treaty of Westminster with Prussia, which laid the diplomatic groundwork for a new war. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) began as a regular Silesian war, the third of its kind. Friedrich the Great decided to steal a march on his enemies by attacking Austria, claiming that a "preventative war" in international relations was quite normal. But he miscalculated and Prussia itself became the theatre of hostilities. The capital, Berlin, was twice taken — first by the Russians and Austrians and then by the Hungarian Hussars. Friedrich was only saved from complete defeat by Russia suddenly leaving the war. By the Treaty of Hubertusburg (1763) Silesia was finally given to Prussia. Austria was forced to wage another two small local wars — the War of the Polish Succession (1738-1739) and the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778-1779).

The Politics of Enlightened Absolutism. Now Maria-Theresa and her son Josef, co-ruler and Roman Emperor since 1765, could devote themselves totally to reforms, the sense and purpose of which was to create a state of enlightened absolutism. The reforms were carried out mainly in the Austro-Czech hereditary lands. They required considerable amounts of money but the exchequer was always empty. It was the military, administrative and financial spheres that were mainly subjected to restructuring. The previous system of recruiting was replaced by a centralized system of enrollment for life service and a military academy was founded in Vienna. The estate institutions were replaced by executive bodies of state power and taxation was taken over by the government.

Maria-Theresa introduced a centralized system of accounting and control. She conducted the first population and

land census. She repealed the tax privileges of the nobility and the priesthood. A number of laws were passed which somewhat alleviated the position of the serfs and corvee was reduced to three days a week instead of the previous five or six. The judicial powers of the landlords over the serfs were limited. In 1776 the empress banned the use of medieval tortures and put restrictions on the use of the death penalty as a punishment. Improvements were made to criminal law.

Of enormous progressive importance was the education reform, which laid the foundations for public education with a carefully thought-out system of schools of various grades — from the rural primary schools where children learned to read and write through the city and regional schools for training rural teachers to the universities in which secular education and the natural sciences were given preference over theological training. Even more radical, though often poorly thought-out and hurriedly prepared, were the reforms of Josef II (1780-1790). The peasants in the Austro-Czech provinces were given their freedom, as were those in Galicia, taken in 1772 under the first division of Poland, and in Bukovina, seized from the Ottomans in 1775. Josef II abolished serfdom, liberating the peasants from personal bondage but retaining their duties.

Important for the cultural, social and economic development of a large part of the multinational empire was the declaration of the democratic principle of religious toleration. The Toleration Patent abolished discrimination against the Greek Orthodox Church and the Protestant Church. It allowed the Protestants to freely preach their religion, occupy public and state posts and organize schools and churches. The Roman Catholic Church was deprived of many of its rights and privileges, including the right to proclaim Papal bulls without the sanction of the emperor. Josef disbanded religious orders and the monasteries that were not engaged in “useful activity” — treating the sick, teaching children, etc. Even the personal intervention of the Holy Father who came to Vienna to humbly ask Josef to repeal the religious reforms or reduce their anti-Vatican orientation was unsuccessful.

Fully intent on creating a model of enlightened absolutism, Josef II went ahead without consideration of the interests not only of individuals, but of estates and even whole peoples. He sincerely believed he was acting in the name of,

and for the good of, the people. But he just as sincerely believed that he could do quite well without the people according to the principle of "everything for the people, but without its participation". Desirous of obtaining the maximum uniformity and strict centralization in the government of his motley empire, Josef raised the German language to the level of the only official state language, the languages of all other peoples of the empire being considered secondary. This gave rise to indignation among the oppressed peoples and encouraged a powerful movement for the development of national literatures and cultures. Among some of the Slavic peoples this movement had gone down in history as the movement for national renaissance. Such despotic methods of government also caused discontent in Belgium and Hungary and by the late 1780s they were on the point of open revolt.

The policy of enlightened absolutism as put forward by Josef Hapsburg could not solve the insoluble problem—to save feudalism by adapting the obsolete economic, social and political structures to the needs of the new bourgeois era. This was shown by the great antifeudal uprising by the serfs in Transylvania in 1784 in which 20 to 30 thousand Walachians and Magyars took part.

The Counterreformation in Bohemia. Great suffering fell to the lot of the two Slavic peoples in the Hapsburg Empire, the Czechs and the Slovaks. During the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) the Czechs lost their independence completely (1620) and for many years to come had no prospect of regaining it. Though they annexed the Czech lands to their own hereditary possessions, the Hapsburgs did not try to abolish the Kingdom of Bohemia, since the holders of the Bohemian crown were Electors of the German Empire, while the Hapsburgs as Austrian archdukes did not have the right of vote at the elections of the kings and emperors of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. They could only take part in these elections in the capacity of kings of Bohemia. Though in the early part of the 17th century the government of the Czech lands was in the hands of the Viennese court chancelleries, the Hapsburgs still retained the estate diets (*landtags* or *sejms*) of Bohemia and Moravia, but with sharply reduced rights. Every one of their decisions was subject to the approval of the Chancellory in Vienna. The diets were magnani-

mously granted the rights to approve draft legislation on the amount and form of taxation to be paid to the government in Vienna and to decide certain questions of local concern.

The feudal lords of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia retained their estate privileges. But as a result of the religious wars and the continuing persecution of the Protestants the ethnic composition of the nobility in the Kingdom of Bohemia changed considerably with the German element becoming predominant. Moreover, the aftermath of the European religious wars was no less destructive and devastating for the Czech lands than was the Ottoman invasion for the Hungarian lands. The population of the Kingdom of St Vaclav, which in the early 17th century had been 3.3 million, was reduced by almost a quarter. More than one thousand villages, 102 towns and 278 castles were destroyed. The religious and political persecutions that were carried out under the Counterreformation continued with unabated force during the first decades and even in the middle of the 18th century, when Austria entered the period of enlightened absolutism.

In instituting the Counterreformation the Hapsburgs sent the German and Czech Protestants into permanent exile in the furthest corners of the empire and burned or destroyed German and Czech books that were considered to be anti-Catholic, antifeudal or anti-Hapsburg in content. It is therefore hardly surprising that this period was considered by the Czechs to be the "dark ages". One such person to suffer under these repressions was the great Czech philosopher and teacher, Jan Amos Komenski (1592-1670), who was forced to leave his native land forever. From autumn 1650 he worked for a period of five years in the collegium of the Hungarian town of Sarospatak, making a great contribution to the training of teachers and the development of enlightenment in Hungary.

The Economic Development of Czech Lands. After the Seven Years' War during which Prussia seized a large part of Silesia, considered to be the "pearl" of the Hapsburg crown and the most industrially developed province of the empire, the economic importance of the Czech lands with their rich industrial and agricultural potential grew tangibly. In an attempt to maximize the income of the exchequer the court in Vienna made a number of administrative reforms aimed at

strengthening absolutist centralization and exploiting the natural resources of Bohemia. A single Austro-Czech economic, administrative and political system was set up governed by a single body—the Austro-Czech Chancellory. Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia became the most important centres for the manufactories and later for factory production, the development of which was promoted in large measure by the protectionist customs tariff policy of the Viennese Court.

Slovakia. The history of another Slavic people—the Slovaks who were the kinsmen of the Czechs, was formed in other, substantially less favourable social and economic conditions. The ethnic territory of the Slovaks, which had been part of the Kingdom of Hungary since its appearance in the 9th and 10th centuries, had never been administratively or politically unified. The territorial and geographic divisions, which had been subsequently deepened by a religious schism that divided Slovaks into Catholics and Protestants, further complicated their ethno-social and ethno-cultural consolidation, as did the fact that they had few towns and no single Slovak centre.

Also unfavourable from this point of view was the social structure of the population. The numerically small and for the most part living in the mountain regions middle and petty nobility of the Slovaks were part and parcel of the Hungarian nobility even in the rare instances when such a nobleman spoke in a Slovak dialect.

When the Ottomans took control of central Hungary thus dividing the kingdom, the centre of state life for Hapsburg Hungary (that part of the kingdom which was still under Hapsburg control) moved to the north and north-west. The vast numbers of refugees brought about a change in the ethnic composition of the territories inhabited by the Slovaks. At the same time, during the 17th century, a process of Slovakization took place in several of the towns with the Hungarian nobility and the National Assembly helping to oust the German element. In the 17th century and the first decades of the 18th century the main events in the liberation wars against the Hapsburgs and the uprisings of the Hungarian people took place in these lands and the Slovaks were involved in them. But the wars

resulted in the destruction and decline of production, in the reduced mining of coal and precious metals and in the stagnation of the cities and culture.

In these exceptionally unfavourable conditions the complex process of forming the Slovak nation took place. During the 16th century the first signs of an ethno-territorial understanding of their native land appeared. During the second half of that century the Slovaks began to realize they were a people apart from other Slavs. The first recorded use of the word Slovakia dates back to 1685. At that time the Slovaks still saw themselves as part of the Hungarian political and historical community.

A number of objective historical factors helped to create more favourable conditions for economic development in the northern provinces of Hungary than in all its other regions. It was here that silver, copper and iron, which formed the basis of metallurgy, were mainly mined. And it was here too at the mines and in the timber industry that Slovaks worked. From this milieu came the itinerant artisans and traders, who formed a special group engaged in seasonal work. During the 18th century all Europe came to know the skill of the wire-makers, glassblowers, herbalists and doctors from Slovakia. The area covered by these itinerant pedlars was far and wide. They had as "their territory" not only the Kingdom of Hungary, but also the Czech, Austrian and South Slavic lands of the empire. They went to the Balkans and to Russia and from there even abroad to Canada and the United States of America.

The Collapse of Enlightened Absolutism of Josef II. The internal disorders which affected the Austrian empire towards the latter part of the 18th century were made worse by the catastrophic consequences of the extremely unsuccessful foreign policy pursued by Josef II. Entering into alliance with Catherine the Great, the emperor declared war on the Ottoman Empire hoping to get rich from its Balkan possessions. But the hoped-for march of victory through the Balkans never took place: the Turks offered powerful and effective resistance and the Austrian army suffered one defeat after another.

The population of the southern provinces of Hungary, the main scene of the hostilities, suffered from the frequent req-

visions of food and horses, from the billeting of the soldiers and from plundering. The comitats, headed by the recalcitrant Hungarian nobility, declared passive resistance and one after the other refused to pay their taxes to the exchequer, to provision the army and to provide enlisted men. A movement began to restore the old Constitution, that had been violated by the Hapsburgs, and to call an Assembly of representatives of the comitats and the whole people.

The leaders of the opposition movement made contact with the Prussian and Weimar courts with the aim of putting the Duke of Weimar or the Crown Prince of Prussia on the Hungarian throne. The King of Prussia, Friedrich the Great, annoyed at renewed attempts on the part of Josef II to exchange the far-off and troublesome Belgium for neighbouring Bavaria, moved his troops right up to the Austrian border and unambiguously threatened that country with war. The anti-Austrian movement had begun in Belgium in 1787. A year later, inspired by the storming of the Bastille, the Belgians rose up in armed revolt and by the end of 1789 had forced the imperial troops to quit the country.

Josef II, now already on his deathbed, was forced to renounce most of his radical reforms with the exception of the Toleration Patent and the law on the personal freedom of the peasants. The system of comitats was restored in Hungary and after a break of many years the National Assembly was called. The crown of St Istvan, which had been taken to Vienna, was returned. For the purpose of giving the crown an honourable escort and under the pretext of guarding it the nobles formed armed detachments. The National Assembly began to correspond with the Hungarian regiments stationed in other countries of the empire with the aim of recalling them. It began to discuss drafts for a Constitution containing the new ideas that had come from the French revolution, for the whole country was watching closely the events in Paris. In dozens of newly opened reading rooms people read *Le Moniteur belge*. The Hungarian national costume, songs and language became unusually popular. For the first time in their history the Walachians of Transylvania formulated national demands (1791).

The Period of Feudal-Absolutist Reaction. Under Leopold II (1790-1792), younger brother of Josef II, there began a

gradual move away from enlightened absolutism to feudal-absolutist reaction. The first priority was to fight against revolutionary France and save the throne and the monarchy from collapse and disintegration. The new monarch was flexible in his foreign policy and to a certain extent conciliatory over internal affairs. He was able to get back the trust of the aristocrats and the nobility, who were discontented at the social experiments of the late emperor. He appeased Hungary by recognizing its ancient Constitution and the Kingdom of Hungary (including Transylvania and Croatia) as a united whole, ruled independently and separately from other countries in the empire. He stopped the war with Turkey and entered into alliance with Austria's age-old enemy, Prussia, thereby putting an end to Prussian intrigues in Hungary and Belgium. The alliance with Berlin against the French allowed the emperor at the end of 1791 to restore his power over Belgium, having recognized at the same time its special position as one of the Hapsburg possessions. His foreign policy was also cautious and circumspect. Austria did not rush headlong into a campaign against the French. She remained apart from the first coalition, despite pressure from London and Petersburg and despite the attempts of Queen Marie-Antoinette, Leopold II's sister, who vainly pleaded for help.

But the situation changed sharply after Leopold had been replaced on the throne by Franz II (1792-1835). His views and politics may be judged by one of the first of his laws which put the strictest ban on any mention in the press of the French revolution. The empire then began a long series of wars with France in the name of restoring and consolidating the feudal-monarchic system in Europe.

The Austrian and Hungarian Jacobins. But the "spirit of France" still hovered over the empire. During the early 1790s a conspiratorial republican movement arose in both Austria and Hungary. This movement was joined by the most advanced people—scholars, lawyers, doctors, army officers and civil servants—all of whom supported the Jacobin dictatorship and French Enlightenment. Their aim was to establish a constitutional monarchy, universal suffrage, a representative parliament and the broad participation of the "third estate" in social and political life. The leader of the Austrian Jacobins was Franz Hebenstreit, a poet, philosopher and officer

in the Viennese garrison. His plan for a coup envisaged seizure of power, arrest of the aristocrats, execution of the emperor and immediate end to the war against France. Direct secret communications were held with the Committee of Public Safety in Paris.

But in July 1794 the organization was betrayed by an agent-provocateur. Dozens of its members were thrown in prison and Hebenstreit himself was hanged. The police also got on the trail of the ramified secret organization of Hungarian Jacobins and its three leaders, Ignacy Martinovics a philosopher and scientist, Jozef Hajnoczy a lawyer, and Ferenc Kazinczy a poet. Their aim was to destroy feudalism and the monarchy and establish a republic by means of a general armed revolt. For the first time in European history a programme was put forward to solve the national question. The Hungarian Jacobins wanted to make the kingdom a federation of free and equal peoples. Their programme made a point of giving each people the right to use their own native language and determine their own constitution. But the forces of reaction dealt brutally with the republicans. Several hundreds were arrested and dozens were sentenced to death.

The Austrian Empire During the Napoleonic Wars. Intimidated by the repressions, the nobility, the main force of the Hungarian opposition, lost for many years to come its ability and taste for political activity. Furthermore, the deepening of the French revolution and the excesses of the Jacobin dictatorship also had a negative effect on its desire for revolution. Also the wars, and particularly the continental blockade provided unprecedented possibilities for enrichment. The nobles cooperated actively with the Viennese court and had no thoughts of any kind of *Fronde*. Twice, in 1805 and 1809, when Napoleon's armies were at the gates of Hungary, the French emperor offered to restore the country's independence. But the nobility would not give in to the temptation.

The wars which the Hapsburgs fought against France ended usually in defeats and Austria itself frequently became the scene of hostilities with Vienna and some of the provinces becoming occupied. In 1806 under pressure from Napoleon the Hapsburgs were finally forced to renounce the title of Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation.

The monarchy became called the Austrian Empire and Franz II became Emperor Franz I. In 1809 following yet another defeat at the hands of the French, Klemens Metternich became minister of foreign affairs and virtual head of state. Metternich was an outstanding diplomat and had enormous influence on Austrian and European politics. It was to a great degree thanks to his skilful diplomacy that Austria, which had lost almost all its campaigns and taken no part in the final war of 1812-1813, nevertheless managed to end up on the side of the victors. It was Austria that was given the honour of organizing the peace conference which brought to a close the long period of wars and once more redrew the map of the whole continent. Together with the Russian Emperor Alexander I and the British Foreign Minister, Castlereagh, the most important role at the Congress of Vienna, which for many decades to come decided the fate of Europe and its peoples, was played by the all-powerful foreign minister of Franz I. He was one of the architects of the notorious Holy Alliance, which was set up for the purpose of putting down revolution and free-thinking in Europe. The Congress of Vienna returned to Austria all its lost possessions with the exception of Belgium. Austria joined the German Confederation, which had been once created and received the right to take the chair at Federation meetings in Frankfurt. Having restored her influence in Germany and Italy, Austria became one of the most powerful obstacles preventing the unification of the two great nations of Europe.

Chapter IX

SPAIN IN THE LATE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

The Economic and Political Situation. During the second half of the 17th century Spain continued its economic, political and military decline. Royal power had lost its authority and influence and the lives of the people were completely in the hands of the big feudal lords and the various "government councils" consisting, as contemporaries claimed, of "senile, short-sighted men, united in their self-importance, but disunited over their ambition and idling their lives away in sloth". Their only concern was their own self-interest. Even in the larger towns there was not the slightest element of law and order. Wayfarers could be robbed by the innumerable footpads and bandits with virtual impunity, while the rich noblemen saved themselves by paying off the bandit chiefs. The highest estates were the nobility (consisting of the titled *grandees* and the lower *caballeros* and *hidalgos*) and the clergy, which ranged from the cardinals and bishops, who led a life of luxury, to the rural priests who differed little in their way of life from the ordinary peasants. The third estate consisted of the owners of workshops and manufactories, the traders, the artisans, the peasants and the middle and petty civil servants and scriveners. These together with the fourth estate—the hired workers and servants—paid taxes to the state and worked to maintain the court, the landowners and the Church.

In Spain's vast colonies the viceroys and the various governors shamelessly plundered the local population and exported their wealth. They banned the development of local industry and trade with any countries except Spain, although Spain itself was unable to sell the colonies the goods they needed. This made smuggling widespread. But gradually

other powers ousted the Spanish from their colonies. English pirate ships hunted the Spanish galleons on their journey back to Spain loaded with gold and precious objects. And as more of these convoys were intercepted and their goods seized, less of their goods reached their destination. The state budget showed a permanently increasing deficit; the exchequer was empty. The size of the productive population had been reduced due to the frequent wars, the emigration of native Spaniards to the American colonies and the driving out of the Moors and the Jews.

Agriculture was in a state of decline with vast areas of land going untended. The rich stockbreeders drove flocks of sheep across the country, barbarically destroying the crops. The peasants were half-starved, and a large part of necessary produce had to be imported from abroad. Though the peasants were technically free, they were required to provide from a half to two-thirds of their crops to their lords, to the state and to the Church.

Things were no better with industry. The artisan, the tradesman and the producer of goods were looked upon with scorn. Customs duties had to be paid for the transport of goods from one province to another and this prevented the creation of a single national market. Each act of buying and selling required the payment of a tax of 10 per cent of the cost of the product. Artisans and workmen had no civil rights, and should a nobleman try to engage in useful labour, he could be expelled from his estate. Natural resources were almost left untouched by the Spanish with iron-ore, copper, lead and mercury deposits being sold off to foreigners and necessary metals being imported from Germany, Holland and Italy.

Although the numerical strength of the army grew, its morale and battle-worthiness were extremely low. The soldiers were badly fed and went for months without their miserable pay, which led to mass desertions. Coastal and land fortifications, war ships and armaments were not maintained properly and allowed to fall into disrepair.

The Preparations for and the Course of the War of the Spanish Succession. It is not surprising therefore that Spain ceased to play an active role in international relations and became an object of struggle between the great powers.

When the last king of the Hapsburg dynasty, Charles II (1665-1700), a weak, mentally retarded, childless man, ascended the throne, the rulers of France, England and other countries openly launched a fight for a share of the rich Spanish succession.

Under direct pressure from the French ambassador in Madrid Charles II bequeathed the Spanish throne to his kinsman, Duke Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV, who had spent all his life in France and was an obedient tool in the hands of his august grandfather. Immediately upon Charles II's death in 1700, the Duke of Anjou arrived in Madrid accompanied by an enormous suite and was proclaimed Philip V, King of Spain. Thus the dynasty of the Hapsburgs was replaced by the dynasty of the Bourbons, to which the present King of Spain, Juan Carlos, belongs.

The change of dynasty entailed considerable changes in Spanish politics. Frenchmen occupied the most important positions of state and the rulers of the Spanish possessions were ordered to carry out unconditionally all the wishes of the king of friendly France.

All this meant that the Spanish succession was now in the hands of France, making it the most powerful country in Europe. Obviously such a prospect was not to the liking of the other powers in Europe. In 1701 a Grand Alliance was formed to include England, Austria, Portugal, Savoy, Sweden and a number of the German states. Declaring Philip V to be a usurper, they proclaimed another kinsman of Charles II, the Austrian Archduke Charles, as the rightful claimant to the throne of Spain and began the War of the Spanish Succession, which dragged out for 13 years. Fighting took place in the Pyrenees, in Flanders and in some of the German states. The war proceeded with changeable success. First the troops of the Grand Alliance landed in Catalonia and having promised the Catalonians autonomy received local support and in a short time took Madrid. But soon afterwards they were forced out of the capital and subsequently out of Spain.

Disputes broke out within the Grand Alliance and when, after the death of the Austrian emperor, the Archduke Charles took the throne himself and renounced all claims to the Spanish throne, the Alliance began to break up. The English ceased hostilities, satisfied that they had managed to take in

1704 the important strategic fortress of Gibraltar, which they retain to this day.

Finally, under the Peace Treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt, Philip V was recognized as the rightful king of Spain, but Louis XV and Philip were not to unite their two countries. Spain lost almost all its possessions in Italy, the Netherlands, and surrendered to England its monopoly right of *asiento*, that is the right to sell black slaves to Latin America.

Enlightened Absolutism. During the mid and late 18th century attempts were made to halt the country's decline, to improve its economy and strengthen its defences. Artisans and merchants were now encouraged and the Spanish were forbidden to wear foreign cloth. Academies of history, Spanish language and medicine were set up. The peasants were given grain for sowing. A navy and a merchant marine were built.

In 1766 there was a popular uprising in Madrid against the Italian Minister, Squillacci, who in a bid to combat vagrancy, banned the wearing of the national costume—long cloaks and wide-brimmed hats. Charles III, the son of Philip V was forced to remove Squillacci. He gave ministerial posts to talented men—Aranda, Floridablanca and Campomanes—who carried out a number of useful reforms. They restricted the interference of the Church in politics, dissolved the Jesuit order and drove them out of Spain and put into practice the principle of enlightened absolutism: "All for the people, but without its participation". The landowners were deprived of many privileges, free trade in bread was permitted, roads and canals were built, schools opened and "economic societies" and military training schools set up. All these reforms were beneficial, but extremely limited and on the scale of the country as a whole resulted only in slight change.

Spain During the French Revolution. The French revolution had enormous influence on Spain. The foremost of the intelligentsia shared the views of the French revolutionaries and disseminated their articles and books which had been secretly smuggled into the country. This seriously frightened the rulers. When Charles IV came to the throne he refused to continue the reforms and sealed off the border with France. Once more the Inquisition began persecutions against all those guilty of holding "seditious views". Diplo-

matic relations with France were broken off. Spain accepted many of the counterrevolutionaries who had fled from France and provided them with money. The trial of Louis XVI was strongly protested. In reply revolutionary France declared war on Spain in 1793, a war in which the Spanish were defeated. According to the terms of the Peace of Basel (1795), Spain was obliged to conclude a military alliance with France and hand over to it part of the Island of Santo Domingo. Spain soon agreed to help France in its struggle with England and put its army at France's disposal for whatever wars France might subsequently think fit to wage.

Chapter X

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS. THE JULY REVOLUTION AND THE JULY MONARCHY

The struggle of nations against Napoleon ended with the fall of the French Empire. The victory over Napoleon was used by the coalition of monarchic, mainly feudal-absolutist states in their own interests. The destruction of the Napoleonic Empire, therefore, led to the triumph of the reactionary monarchic nobility in Europe.

The Congress of Vienna. The Congress of Vienna sat from November 1, 1814 to June 9, 1815 and was called by the four signatories to the Treaty of March 1, 1814. The aim of those who called the Congress was to do away with the political changes that had taken place in Europe as a result of the French bourgeois revolution and the Napoleonic wars. They did all they could to uphold the principle of "legitimism", i.e., the restoration of the "legitimate" rights of the former monarchs who had lost their possessions. After the Congress all states in Europe, excluding Turkey, were bound for the first time by a system of international treaties. This diplomatic system lasted for the entire first half of the 19th century. All participants at the Congress were concerned to weaken France and make a renaissance of the Napoleonic Empire impossible. Without concerning itself about the national interests of the peoples of Europe the Congress redrew the map of Europe according to its own requirements. France was cut back to its 1792 borders and deprived of all occupied territory. The country was then encircled with buffer states. Thus the more industrially developed Belgium was united with Holland to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Poland was divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria. Russia kept Finland and Bessarabia. In Italy the Kingdom of

Sardinia was restored to which Genoa was joined and Savoy and Nice were returned to Italy. Austria once more received Venice and Lombardy, while the Duchies of Parma, Tuscany and Modena became the property of various members of the Austrian House of Hapsburg. Apart from Rome the Pope was returned Ravenna, Ferrara and Bologna. Italy was now completely fragmented. Prussia took over the Rhine province, Westphalia and Swedish Pomerania. Norway was taken from Denmark and given to Sweden. The borders of Switzerland were extended and that country was declared by the Congress to remain neutral in perpetuity. The Congress of Vienna legitimized the colonial seizures made by England during the war with Spain and France.

In November 1815, after the Battle of Waterloo Napoleon was exiled to the Island of St Helena and a new treaty between the four victorious powers and France was signed, which reduced that country to its 1790 borders, forced it to pay indemnities and to maintain occupation forces until such payments were made.

The decisions taken by the Congress of Vienna helped to strengthen monarchic reaction in Europe. In order to increase the struggle against the revolutionary and national liberation movements the reactionary governments of the European states concluded among themselves the so-called Holy Alliance.

The Holy Alliance. On September 26, 1815 the Act of the Holy Alliance, drawn up by Alexander I, was signed by almost all European monarchs. The text of the document proclaimed that "bound by sacred bonds of true brotherhood and the principles of the Christian religion, they undertook to give each other aid and support". England did not formally enter the Holy Alliance, but in the early stages its government virtually supported the proclaimed reactionary policy. The Pope did not sign the Act, fearing discontent from the Catholics in the various countries.

The leading roles in the Holy Alliance were played by Metternich, the reactionary Chancellor of Austria, and Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who like the English Foreign Minister, Lord Castlereagh, well understood that the years of revolution and empire had left their mark on both France and the other European countries and that a return to the

pre-revolutionary order was not possible. It was Alexander I who demanded a charter of limitations on the monarchy of Louis XVIII and insisted on it being signed by all members of the Congress. At the First Congress of the Holy Alliance in Aachen in 1818 Lord Castlereagh insisted that interference in the internal affairs of states could only be carried out at their request, though at the Second Congress (held in Troppau, Silesia in 1820), this decision was changed as a result of the revolution in Naples. France, which became a member of the Holy Alliance, did not sign the clause on interference in the internal affairs of other states.

At the next Congress in Laibach (Ljubljana) in 1821 decisions were taken on crushing the revolutionary movement in the Italian states and in Greece. Alexander I refused help to Christian Greece and thus aided Islamic Turkey in its brutal treatment of the Christians. Diplomacy and politics, it appeared, were of greater importance in the Holy Alliance than the Christian principles.

The contradictions between the main members of the Alliance continued to grow, as did the contradictions between the latter, on the one hand, and England and the United States of America on the other. This became clearly manifest at the last Congress of the Holy Alliance in Verona in 1822. The Congress decided to send a French expeditionary force to put down revolutions in the Latin American countries that had flared up against a weak and reactionary Spain. This aroused the indignation of the English and the North Americans, who not being members of the Holy Alliance were opposed to any intervention in the Latin American countries. US President Monroe sent a note to the European courts in 1823 and the force was called back before it could reach Latin America and sent to put down a revolution in Spain instead. In 1825 relations between Russia, England, Austria and Turkey became worse, as the Russian government decided to give aid to Greece. These contradictions to a large extent resulted in a weakening of the Holy Alliance.

But a revolution in France in 1830, an uprising in Poland, a revolution in Belgium and the struggle for reform and its acceptance in England finally served to undermine the Holy Alliance. Despite the attempts from reactionary governments to continue the existence of this organization, the task was

impossible and by the mid-1830s the Holy Alliance had virtually ceased to exist.

The Restoration of the Bourbons. Under the influence of Talleyrand and Alexander I the new King of France, Louis XVIII (1755-1824), hurried to calm the French people that lands confiscated from the aristocrats would not be returned to them. He promised not to carry out repressions. But immediately special tribunals were set up, the courts began to function and sentences were passed. In 1815 a new chamber of deputies, known as the "Chambre introuvable" (Incomparable Chamber), was elected. It included ultra-royalists who were more monarchist than the king himself. The chief ideologists of this group, Joseph de Maistre and the Vicomte de Bonald were vicious enemies of the revolution. A slightly more moderate position was held by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, François-René Chateaubriand, a talented writer but a poor politician. However, alarmed at the prospect of revolutionary uprising, Louis was forced to dissolve this chamber in September 1816.

The new chamber was elected mainly from constitutional monarchists and contained a greater number of major financiers, industrialists and a somewhat lesser number of big landowners. In spirit it was more bourgeois, but all its members were opponents of the democratic form of government. Its leader was the philosopher Royer-Collard, and it stayed in power for four years. In 1820 the Duc de Berry was killed as he was leaving the theatre by an artisan named Louis-Pierre Louvel. Immediately a number of reactionary laws were imposed covering press restrictions, sacrilege, etc. The constitutional monarchists were ousted from power and ultra-royalists like Count Villele and the Duc de Montmorency came back into favour.

In 1820 and 1821 secret organizations formed on the pattern of the Italian Carbonari began to appear. But despite the fact that well-known and prestigious leaders like the Marquise Lafayette took part in them they had no single programme nor clear organization. The French Carbonari tried to organize an uprising, but the majority of plots were discovered and the plotters executed.

In 1824 Louis XVIII died and his brother, the Comte D'Artois, ascended the throne as Charles X. He called him-

self the king of the emigres and was in fact such. An extremely narrowminded man and the enemy of any form of free thought, he possessed not a single quality needed for a statesman. In 1825 he insisted on emigres being paid a billion francs compensation for their lost lands and tried to get a law passed that made it a capital offence to take any action against religion and the Church. The government was headed by Charles X's favourite, the extremely reactionary Comte de Polignac.

Social and Economic Development. Although during the Restoration period political power in France belonged to the nobility and the clergy, the economy of the country—its agriculture and industry—continued to develop along capitalist lines. Factories and plants grew and in a number of provinces they already switched to mechanized production. In the countryside a process of differentiation was taking place among the peasantry. Many of those who had no land or little land went into industry. The number of industrial workers was increasing, though not so quickly as in England. And as the industrial revolution continued a new group, the technocrats, came into being.

The industrial revolution and the development of capitalism led to increased exploitation of the proletariat, the impoverishment of the small artisans and an increase in the class struggle. The industrial crisis of 1826 followed by the depression of 1829-1830 combined with the poor harvests to make the condition of the working people, bad as it was, much worse. Large numbers of people lost their pay and poverty and hunger reigned in the countryside. The consequence of this was the growth of revolutionary ideas among the masses. Workers' societies and organizations sprung up in many towns, including mutual aid societies and similar organizations. The first strikes took place, some of which ended with clashes with the police. The works of the first historians of the French revolution—Thierry, Guizot and Mignet—which judged the revolution from the point of view of the bourgeoisie as a revolution of the third estate, became popular amongst the intelligentsia. The ideas of the utopian socialists like Saint-Simon, Fourier and the Englishman Robert Owen were widely discussed.

The opposition of the liberal bourgeoisie began to increase. In 1829 the Orleans Party was formed, created by Talleyrand, Mignet, Thiers and others, who understood that the policies pursued by Charles X could lead to another revolution. The Orleans Party, so named for their support of a smaller branch of the Bourbon dynasty, the Orleans, lasted almost the whole of the 19th century. Soon after its formation it began to publish the newspaper *National*. Most of the deputies supported the Orleanists against the extreme reactionaries, like Polignac. In the new elections to the chamber they won the majority. Then on July 26, 1830 the official newspaper *Le Moniteur* published four decrees which virtually abrogated the Charter of 1814 and thus the very existence of the chamber. This triggered off protest throughout the country, except from the handful of noblemen-legitimists.

The July Revolution and the July Monarchy

The July Revolution. The publishing of the *Ordnances Polignac* gave rise to a storm of indignation in Paris. In the evening of July 26 clashes took place between the people and the police. The next day street demonstrations developed into an armed uprising under the slogan of defending the Constitutional Charter and removing the Polignac government. Many of the troops came over to the side of the revolutionaries. Thus began the July revolution, with the workers and the artisans as its leading force. The Carbonari and members of the other revolutionary societies played a prominent role in leading the armed struggle. On July 29 the Tuileries Palace fell. A provisional government was set up to include members of the big bourgeoisie. But the left groups and workers' organizations had no common plan of action, which made it possible for the bourgeois liberals to implement their plans. On July 31 the chamber deputies, among whom the Orleanists predominated, decided to hand the crown to Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. Louis Philippe had previously been advanced as candidate for the throne at the beginning of the Restoration in 1815 by Alexander I of Russia, and he was now crowned king.

After three days of battles the revolution ended with a change of dynasty. Explaining the change of dynasty the pro-

visional government declared that the Bourbons had spilt the blood of their own people and could not be kings, and a republic without a king would set France at odds with Europe, consequently they had to have a citizen king such as Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans.

The July revolution did not develop into a bourgeois-democratic revolution, since it ended quickly in a bourgeois monarchy. Power passed from the hands of the extreme reactionary nobility to the bourgeoisie, predominantly the financiers. The July revolution was of great international importance. The overthrow of the Restoration government dealt a powerful blow to the Holy Alliance and aided the rise of liberal-democratic and national liberation movements in many countries of Europe.

The Domestic and Foreign Policy of the July Monarchy. On August 14, 1830 a new Constitution was adopted, which kept many of the clauses of the former Charter. But the power of the king was to a certain extent reduced, and the rights of the deputies somewhat enlarged. All state institutions, the army and the navy were purged of reactionary nobles. But broad sections of the population still remained without civil rights. The progressive aspect of the July revolution was that it overthrew the political domination of the noble aristocracy and put an end to attempts to restore the feudal-absolutist order. Power now passed forever from the hands of the nobility into those of the bourgeoisie, although not the whole bourgeoisie, just the financial oligarchy (i.e., the captains of trade, industry and finance). A bourgeois monarchy was now established in France.

It was no quirk of fate which brought Louis Philippe to the throne. He was the son of the Duke of Chartres—a younger branch of the Bourbon dynasty that did not support the main Bourbon branch—for which he received the nickname Philippe-Egalité. The young Louis Philippe took part in the war against the coalition during the years of the Convention. He emigrated to Switzerland and then to England. He did not fight against revolutionary France. Returning to his native country, he was able to get back some of his family lands. He was closely connected with Jacques Laffitte, a rich banker, and other members of the world of high finance, who had been against the Restoration government. During the

July revolution they helped Louis Philippe first gain popular support and afterwards the throne. Louis Philippe for his part played the democrat, often walking Paris on foot and without a suite. He spoke to the workers in the streets and generally made a good impression of himself amongst the population.

In furtherance of the interests of the bourgeoisie the July monarchy began the serious colonization of North Africa. An expeditionary force had been sent to Algeria under Polignac, but it was not until 1847 that the French occupied the country completely, although resistance and armed uprisings still continued. Algeria remained a French colony for more than a century.

Under the July monarchy relations worsened with Russia, Austria and Prussia. With England the situation was changeable, sometimes good, sometimes bad depending upon trade agreements and loans.

Economic Development in 1830-1847. The Condition of the Workers and Peasants. Under Louis Philippe capitalism made great strides in France. Light industry was the first to be affected by the industrial revolution. Capital invested in trade and industry increased by 50 per cent in two decades. The steam engine began to be used much more widely in industry and during the 1830s France began building railways.

The industrial revolution increased the capitalist exploitation of the workers. The working day was 12-13 hours and the Le Chapelier Law remained in force. The condition of the peasantry, which made up two-thirds of France's 35 million population, was deplorable in the extreme. The process of breaking up the small peasant holdings put a brake on the development of agriculture and increased impoverishment of the larger mass of the peasantry.

Opposition. The Secret Revolutionary Organizations. In the 1830s discontent with the July monarchy already began to appear in all sections of society. Only the Orleanists, who held the highest posts in the government and in the chamber and the top ranks of the bourgeoisie, like the bankers Laffitte and P  rier, remained loyal to the regime. But even the Orleanists were not a united group, containing as they did the so-called dynastic opposition, which demanded broader political rights

for larger numbers of the bourgeoisie. These latter were represented by the moderate Republicans, who wanted a radical change in the form of a republic, though they were not interested in social reforms and supported colonialism. The moderate Republicans were grouped around the newspaper *National* under the editorship of Marrast. The left Republicans were more radical, demanding social reform and universal suffrage. They were grouped around the paper *Réforme*, and their leader was the lawyer Ledru-Rollin. There were articles in this paper written by socialists and it had the support of some of the workers.

Many workers, particularly those in Paris, and Republican petty bourgeoisie were members of democratic societies, most of which were secret and conspiratorial. An important role in the work of these societies was played by the passionate revolutionary, Auguste Blanqui (1806-1881), who spent the greater half of life in prison. Blanqui organized several societies, including the *Société des Saisons* in 1837. Its aim was to overthrow the monarchy through plots and uprisings. Blanqui did not understand the special place of the working class in capitalist society and did not mark out the workers from the general mass of poor. Blanqui was undoubtedly affected by the ideas of communist egalitarianism and particularly Filippo Buonarrotti's book *Conspiracy in the Name of Equality*.

The *Société des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* and the *Société des amis du peuple* were formed under the influence of the Carbonari movement, although certain of them, particularly the latter abandoned conspiracy. These societies maintained links with the young Italian revolutionaries like Giuseppe Mazzini, who lived in France during the 1830s. But all these societies were eventually destroyed by the authorities.

The Workers' Movement. The Uprising of the Lyons Weavers. On June 6, 1832 at the funeral of General Maximilien Lamarque, who had been popular in democratic circles, an uprising took place which had as its aim the overthrow of the monarchy. It was led by the petty-bourgeois Republicans, but the decisive role was played by the workers. Barricades went up in the worker districts and for the first time the red flag

was raised. But after two days of heroic struggle the resistance of the workers was broken.

In late November 1831 and in April 1834 there were two major uprisings involving the Lyons weavers. Their hard conditions of work and low pay resulted in a strike. The government sent in the National Guard and the strike developed into an armed uprising. For ten days the workers held the town, but for lack of organization the uprising was brutally put down. The second uprising was more organized and had a political purpose. The workers demanded a democratic republic. The slogan for the first uprising had been "Work or Death!"; for the second it had been "Republic or Death!". These uprisings showed that the working class had entered history as a new social force.

The development of capitalism and the growth of the workers' movement promoted the spread of communist and socialist ideas. The best known theoreticians of utopian communism were Theodore Dezamy (1803-1850) and Etienne Cabet (1788-1856). Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) and Louis Blanc (1811-1882) were widely read by the workers.

The Growing Crisis Facing the July Monarchy. During the 1840s the July monarchy ran into a number of difficulties at home and abroad. Opposition was increasing throughout society. The newspapers (and there were more than 700 of them) openly criticized the government. Such papers as *Tribune*, *Caricature*, *Réforme* and even *National* had an enormous circulation, and thus their influence was great. The workers went on strike; the peasants under the crushing burden of taxation grumbled. Even part of the bourgeoisie were discontented, particularly those in industry. Especially hated were the policies of Premier François Guizot, a serious historian, but a luckless politician. The bourgeoisie were also discontented at the government's unsuccessful foreign policy, which in 1840 suffered defeats at the hands of England, Russia, Austria and Prussia in the battle for influence in the East and which was abandoned in the face of England's colonial expansion in New Zealand and the Oceanian Islands. The bourgeois opposition demanded electoral reforms, hoping to strengthen its influence in Parliament and avert a revolutionary explosion. But the government refused and the social base of the July monarchy grew even smaller.

To mark the opening of Parliament on February 22, 1848, a large banquet was arranged and a huge demonstration organized. The government banned both. So the organizers of the banquet decided to call it off. But the democratic forces in Paris came to the demonstration. The government sent in troops, but most of these went over to the side of the demonstrators. Fighting broke out and once more the barricades went up in Paris.

Chapter XI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM FROM UTOPIA TO SCIENCE

A General Outline of Utopian Socialism. The bourgeois revolutions cleared the way for the industrial revolution, the consequence of which was an immediate and deep transformation of all social relations. The sufferings of the unfortunate and their spontaneous demonstrations alarmed society, aroused the sympathy of many progressive people and motivated some of them to find principles of social justice and ways to change society. They criticized capitalist relations and began to think about ways of building a society based on justice and the predominance of the interests of society over those of the individual. They began to think about socialism. This ideological and political current which existed during the first decades of the 19th century is known as critical-utopian socialism. Its most prominent representatives were Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Charles Fourier (1772-1837) and Robert Owen (1771-1858).

The founders of critical-utopian socialism laid the groundwork for an historical analysis of the social structure of society, seeing it as the result of a long period of natural evolution. They believed the ultimate reason for social development lay in changes of religious, philosophical and moral views. But they stressed the importance of the level of production development and the forms of ownership and therefore they believed that changing these was the main roads towards remaking society. The utopian socialists laid emphasis on the creation of large-scale collective social production, which would incorporate the achievements of science and technology. Thus they overcame the centuries-old dogmas of utopian socialism preaching rigid egalitarianism and general asceticism. On the whole this was a new and higher stage of

humanist criticism of the exploiter, particularly capitalist system and an attempt to find ways to achieve social justice. But during the first decades of the 19th century the proletariat was too immature for the utopian socialists to see it as a force capable of doing away with capitalism and creating a socialist society. They turned to the reasonable and educated representatives of the ruling classes believing that they would see the wrongs of the contemporary system and do something about putting them right.

Saint-Simon. Henri de Saint-Simon, who was of noble birth, understood early on in life the ideas of the French enlighteners. He took part in the American War of Independence and in the French revolution. He set about looking for explanations of various social phenomena. He came to the conclusion that human society develops naturally from lower to higher forms. As an integral organism, it embraces all aspects of human life. The development of human reason together with philosophic, scientific, religious and moral views and human labour form an important link between people.

Saint-Simon proposed the creation of a “new industrial system”, which would do away with parasitism and idleness and make productive labour obligatory on all members of society.

Saint-Simon did not see the proletarians as a separate class, but lumped them together with the industrial bourgeoisie and the bankers into a class which he termed “industrials”. Prime place here he accorded to the entrepreneurs and the scientists, whose job it was to ensure that industry and agriculture flourished, that the productive forces developed on the basis of scientific principles and the workers prospered.

In his last book *Nouveau Christianisme* Saint-Simon expressed the interests of the workers and proclaimed their liberation to be the ultimate aim of his strivings. He believed that his “new Christianity” would form the philosophical and moral basis for a just society.

His two pupils, Saint-Amand Bazard and Barthélemy Enfantin, developed his ideas. They saw history as a change of various historical forms of class exploitation. They deepened the analysis of the contradictions of capitalism and arrived at the conclusion that private ownership of the means of production should be gradually liquidated by abolishing the in-

heritance laws. Defending the priority of labour and ability, they advanced the most important socialist principle: "To each according to his ability, and to each ability according to its work." But they failed to link these ideas with the worsening class struggle.

Fourier. The views of Saint-Simon's compatriot, Charles Fourier, were also influenced by his deep disillusionment with the results of the French revolution. Originally from a merchant's family, Fourier went bankrupt during the years of revolution and worked for the rest of his life as a clerk. He worked hard and persistently at educating himself and at trying to find the causes of the social cataclysms that were taking place in front of him. Like Saint-Simon, he came to believe in the natural development of society from lower to higher forms as a result of the change from small-scale to large-scale industry and of improvements in the means of production. But unlike Saint-Simon, Fourier saw not "reason", but "passion" as the determining factor in social development. The main vice of the "civilized system", as he called bourgeois society, was that it distorted all human "passions". It was a society in which the anarchy of production reigned, in which some got rich at the expense of others and in which man could not be guaranteed the first of his natural rights — the right to work.

Fourier drew the conclusion that it was necessary to destroy the whole vicious "civilized system" and replace it by a better society, based on the kind of production that would harmonize the "passions". This in turn he based on the idea of making labour attractive through small production associations of people, who jointly owned the means of production and engaged in various branches of agriculture and industry. Such an association he called a *phalang*. In this way Fourier expressed the great ideas of creating a communist society as a kingdom of free, joyful and pleasant labour, a society in which the human individual could develop fully harmonizing his interests with those of society, in which there would be no contradiction between the interests of town and countryside and physical and mental labour.

Fourier believed he would get help from progressive capitalists to organize the first experimental phalangs. He was sure that their experience would show all classes the feasibility and advantages of a "societarian" system. He and his

followers tried to set up an experimental phalang in France, but it never got off the ground. During the 1840s Fourier's followers set up dozens of phalangs in the United States, but they all broke up.

After his death his pupils reworked his ideas in the spirit of "cooperative labour, capital and talent".

Owen. The English utopian socialist, Robert Owen, began working for a living early in life. By the age of thirty he was co-owner of a factory and understood well the needs of the English worker. Following the rationalist materialism of the enlighteners, he searched hard for ways to improve the lot of the poor and the working classes to the advantage of the entrepreneurs. Experience gained from reforms carried out at his factory in New Lanark made Owen believe that to do away with the poverty of the working class and raise its productivity it was necessary to establish social ownership of the means of production. He drew up a plan for creating labour communes, a federation of which would become the finest organization in society. Communes like this in the United States (the "New Harmony" Commune) and in England existed for a few years, but could not stand up to the pressure of capitalist competition.

Owen convinced the workers that with the help of cooperatives it would gradually be possible to establish control over all kinds of production. He began the setting up of labour commune-guilds through uniting the cooperatives and trade unions. In 1834 he founded the Grand National Moral Union of Productive and Useful Classes. This union put forward the idea for the first time in history of resisting the bourgeoisie by means of a general strike, but it was unable to organize such a strike and fell apart.

Owen organized in London and Manchester a number of equitable labour exchanges, which were popular amongst the workers, but could not stand up against market competition.

Despite all these failures, Owen continued to claim that a new society could only be built through persuasion and education. This set him aside from the trade union and Chartist movements. But all social movements that upheld the interests of the working people in England and in other countries made use of many of his ideas.

Other Socialist Currents in the 1830s and 1840s. The ideas of critical-utopian socialism were adopted by subsequent trends in utopian socialism, within which a differentiation took place between the bourgeois and the proletarian currents.

The National Charter Association in England believed that social justice was only achievable through a struggle for democracy and political power. Its leaders saw universal suffrage as the means by which a new just system of production and distribution could be created. George Harney believed that the only way to achieve social equality was to gain political power. But the Chartists had no clear socialist ideas and could not break away from bourgeois ideology.

The desire for social justice was characteristic of those who took part in the proletarian actions of 1830, 1831 and 1834 in France. Auguste Blanqui, a prominent figure in the French revolutionary movement, believed that all problems that had occurred in history and that were due to the needs of the human race could be solved communistically. The ideas of Louis Blanc enjoyed considerable popularity, for he maintained that both oppressors and oppressed would benefit from the lifting of oppression. He believed that the establishment of a republican system would ensure the sort of reforms required if social justice was to be achieved through "organized labour". Proudhon held that the working people could put an end to poverty and hardship through the creation of a people's savings bank, the formation of cooperatives and the organization of direct barter exchange.

The League of the Just, which was set up by the German artisan, Wilhelm Weitling, demanded the repeal of the laws on inheritance and private property and the creation of democratic self-government and of a Great Family Union of Mankind, for the sake of which he called for a revolution by the force of "pure reason" or "brute physical force". Weitling saw the revolution as a spontaneous revolt, the main force behind which would be the lumpen-proletariat. In Germany and other countries those intellectuals who sympathized with the impoverished small producers called themselves "true socialists" and pressed for social justice through guaranteeing the stability of the small producers.

Those who advocated social ownership of the means of production and social justice most fully expressed the interests of the workers. They were called communists and the

system based on social ownership which they wanted was known as communism.

But worker discontent at increasing capitalist exploitation was also made use of by those who still defended the feudal system. They tried to put forward attractive concepts of social justice that were based on obsolete religious, patriarchal and feudal relations. Some of the representatives of Christian, feudal and even conservative bourgeois socialism pretended that the reforms that could have been passed to regulate relations between workers and employers in the interests of bolstering capitalist relations, were in fact socialism.

The Preconditions for the Emergence of Scientific Communism. The most important precondition for the emergence of scientific communism was the formation and development of the working class, which had to realize its role and historic tasks. This became necessary when the working class first acted as an independent social and political force.

Scientific communism was based on the European science and social thought of the early 1840s. Its sources were German philosophy, early 19th-century English bourgeois political economy and French critical-utopian socialism. Germany during the 1820s and 1830s was a country chained down by the forces of reaction and free-thinking could only develop in such abstract and seemingly divorced from life spheres as philosophy. The most important achievement of early 19th-century German philosophy was Hegel's dialectical method and some of his followers used this dialectic to criticize religion and justify political liberalism. But in the thirties and early forties Ludwig Feuerbach went further and criticized Hegel's idealism. In opposing idealism Feuerbach also rejected its dialectics, and for this reason failed to reveal the main laws of social development, and merely constructed abstract principles of universal morality. But his materialism was the springboard for the development of the theory of scientific communism.

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries bourgeois political economy had made great strides in England. Its most prominent spokesmen were Adam Smith and David Ricardo.

The brilliant theories of Saint-Simon and Fourier and the work done by other French scholars on society's make-up and

the class struggle led up to the discovery of the laws of social development and to revealing the role of the working class.

But it was Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895) who created the ideology of the working class and thus became the founders of scientific communism. Both were born in Germany.

Karl Marx, who spent his childhood in Trier in the Rhineland, came into early contact with enlightened and rationalist views through his father, a lawyer, and family's acquaintances. At Berlin University he studied Hegelian philosophy. There he mixed with a group of Young Hegelians, who were trying to draw radical conclusions from Hegel's philosophy. In autumn 1842 he began to edit the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which was published in Cologne, and gave it a revolutionary-democratic orientation. Work on the paper made Marx aware of the situation of the working people and about economic relations.

Feuerbach's philosophy helped him free himself from idealism. By 1843 Marx had come to understand the decisive role of material and economic relations in the development of society. In the autumn of that year he moved to Paris, where he lived until early 1848. It was there that through his acquaintance with the advanced industrial proletarians, the revolutionary-democratic secret societies and socialist and communist ideas that Marx at last adopted a position of philosophic materialism and developed a new method of research — dialectical materialism. Marx now supported communism.

Frederick Engels was also born in the Rhineland, in Barmen, into the family of a factory owner. He worked hard educating himself. At 18 he began to take active part in social life as a writer of articles and literary criticism. Acquaintance with the works of Hegel and the Young Hegelians and work on his own articles which dealt with the acute social and political problems of the time and the religious and philosophical debates then seething in Germany, brought him to an atheistic and revolutionary-democratic viewpoint.

In 1841-1842 he joined the ranks of Young Hegelians, where he took a left-wing position. But though on the whole he adhered to Hegel's idealistic philosophy, he was critical of the latter's conservative political views.

Of decisive importance for Engels was his visit to England where he went on business for his father. There in 1842 and

1843 he was able to observe the struggle of the English workers and meet the Chartists, in whose struggle he took direct participation. Reading the works of the English economists, and of Robert Owen and his followers prepared Engels for his final move to materialism and communism.

At that time Engels was writing articles for the Chartist newspapers and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. And it was on the editorial board of this newspaper that in autumn 1842 he first met Karl Marx. By the time Engels went to Paris in 1844 he and Marx were in complete agreement on questions of theory. This meeting laid the foundation for their close co-operation.

The first fruits of their cooperation was *The Holy Family* (1845), which showed that the real creators of history were the masses of people and that their revolutionary influence on the historical process became particularly evident in periods of radical social change.

In late May 1845 Engels published in Germany *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Here Engels revealed the social and economic roots of the contemporary workers' movement and showed the necessity for a close alliance between this mass workers' movement and socialist thought and in this way pointed out the historical mission of the proletariat.

In *The German Ideology* (1845-1846), Marx and Engels developed the basis of historical materialism. They showed the objective laws which govern the development of productive forces and production relations and explained the laws that conditioned the revolutionary change from one mode of production to another, more progressive mode and the corresponding changes throughout the political structure of society and in the social consciousness of the people. They expressed the idea of a proletarian seizure of power and showed some of the conditions and characteristics of a proletarian revolution and some of the main advantages of communism. At the same time they completed their criticism of Hegel's philosophy and of that of the Young Hegelians and Feuerbach, revealed the class nature of bourgeois political economy and pointed out the shortcomings in the utopian socialist and communist philosophies.

By developing a new method of research, revealing the laws of social development and the historic role of the work-

ing class and formulating for it a scientific outlook on life, Marx and Engels turned communism from utopia into science. They then directed their efforts so that their ideas should be understood by the masses and become a motive force for revolution.

The Communist League. From 1845 to 1847 Marx and Engels lived in Brussels and their articles were printed in a number of Belgian, French, English and German publications. They met and established ties with members of the League of the Just, the Chartists and other revolutionary societies. In spring 1846 they organized the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. They spread propaganda through the communes of the League of the Just in London, and gave lectures to the General Association of German Workers and the Democratic Association in Belgium and to the London Society of Fraternal Democrats, which brought together revolutionary democrats from many countries. This gave them the opportunity to convince the leaders of the League of the Just of the correctness of their views and to influence the Chartist leadership.

To help the most advanced workers and artisans to rid themselves of the mistaken views of Proudhon, Marx made a profound criticism of the latter's *The Philosophy of Poverty* in a publication entitled *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Analyzing the workers' movement, he came to the conclusion that economic and political struggles should be combined, that the political struggle was of decisive importance for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and that the proletariat had to establish its dictatorship. "For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day it must — and Marx and I have advocated this ever since 1847 — form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party."*

The leaders of the League of the Just proposed that Marx and Engels should join so as to help them reorganize and develop a new programme. In June 1847 the League held a Congress in London. On the initiative of Marx and Engels it

* "Engels to Gerson Trier in Copenhagen. December 18, 1889", in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982, p. 386.

was renamed the Communist League and instead of its previous motto "All Men Are Brethren!" it adopted the slogan "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"

The Rules of the Communist League stated that its aim was "the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society which rests on the antagonism of classes, and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property."* The Rules required strict discipline from members, a certain amount of secrecy and the payment of dues for communications, organizational work and propaganda.

The highest organ of the Communist League was its Congress and between congresses, the Central Committee. The lowest, primary organizations of the League were its communes, consisting of between three and twenty members. From two to ten communes formed a district, and in each country or province one of the districts was appointed by the Central Committee as the leading district, to which all others were subordinate. The chairmen of the communes and their assistants were members of their district committee and had to be elected by members of their communes. The members of the Central Committee were elected by one of the district committees on the instructions of the Congress.

The Second Congress of the Communist League was attended by communes from Germany, France, England, Belgium, Switzerland and Poland. Marx and Engels were both present, trying to create an international party for the working class. Engels' *Principles of Communism* was read and unanimously approved, and Marx and Engels were authorized on the basis of that document to write a Manifesto. Thus the Communist League finally adopted a position of scientific communism.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party. Two months later, in February 1848 the *Deutscher-Londoner Zeitung* published a famous work by Marx and Engels—*Manifesto of the Communist Party*—which outlined the foundations of the scientific ideology of the working class.

* F. Engels, "Rules of the Communist League", in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 633.

Marx and Engels gave a clear formulation of their approach to analyzing the development of society, a concise description of the revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie and a brief history of the emergence of the proletariat and the workers' movement. They showed the economic, social and political inevitability of the collapse of the bourgeoisie, provided a scientific grounding for the revolutionary role of the working class and the inevitability of its becoming the dominant class and showed the importance of the proletarian victory for the subsequent development of society.

The *Manifesto* stated that "the Communists ... are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement".* Marx and Engels set out a complete programme of the immediate changes that had to be carried out in the advanced countries after the establishment of proletarian political power in the course of a communist revolution.

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* is of historic significance as the first programme document of the world communist movement.

But in the late 1840s the *Manifesto* was known only to a small number of people. In February 1848 the Communist League had only some four hundred members, three-quarters of whom were in London, Paris, Brussels and Switzerland, and only a quarter in Germany. But the world's first international workers' party, which Marx and Engels had created, was almost immediately faced with a serious trial — the beginning of revolution in Europe.

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 497.

Chapter XII

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848-1849 IN FRANCE

From 1847 to the beginning of 1848 there was a revolutionary situation in almost every European country. The main reason for this was the considerably worsened straits in which the masses of the people found themselves, particularly as a result of the poor harvests that had struck France, Ireland, a number of the German states, Austria and many other countries in 1845 and 1846. In 1847 this was made even worse by a trade, industrial and financial crisis, which had serious effects on the whole European economy. And everywhere it was the working people who suffered the most.

The pre-revolutionary years had been marked by waves of popular unrest in almost every country of Europe. In France the year 1847 was marked by numerous popular actions mainly in the form of food riots. In England the Chartist movement became more active and mass meetings took place. In Germany there were a number of spontaneous demonstrations in early spring.

At the same time the opposition of the petty and middle bourgeoisie grew. In some countries, e.g., France, there was also increased opposition from part of the industrial bourgeoisie disgruntled by the domination of the financial aristocracy. Similar phenomena were also recorded in Prussia. Among the bourgeois opposition there was an increasing desire to limit the power of the king and extend the rights of parliament. And the political situation was no better in other parts of Germany. In the multinational Austrian Empire the opposition movement increased not only in Hungary and the Slavic lands, but also in the central Austrian provinces. A national movement rose up in Italy with the aim of liberating

the northern part of the country from foreign occupation and uniting the whole of Italy into a single state.

There were few countries in Europe that were not affected by the revolutionary explosion.

* * *

The Formation of the Provisional Government. On February 22, 1848 a revolution broke out in Paris. Louis Philippe removed Guizot in the hope of avoiding it, and appointed new ministers, who were said to favour reform. But it was too late. The demonstrations continued. On February 23 the police opened fire on unarmed demonstrators and on the night of the 24th more than 1,500 barricades went up. The people were led by the members of the secret societies, chiefly workers and small artisans. By the end of the day the whole town was in the hands of the insurrectionists. Crowds broke into the Tuileries. The king abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, and fled to England.

The Chamber of Deputies met at the Palais Bourbon in a bid to secure the retention of the monarchy. But these designs were frustrated when crowds of people broke into the hall where the session was being held. At their demands a Provisional Government was formed—a coalition including six right-wing bourgeois republicans, two left-wing republicans and two petty-bourgeois socialists, Louis Blanc and Alexandre Albert. The head of government to all intents and purposes was the poet and historian Alphonse Lamartine.

But despite the demands of the people the Provisional Government was in no hurry to proclaim a republic. Only when the worker representatives threatened a new uprising, was a republic finally proclaimed on February 25. This proclamation revolutionized the people in many other European countries and was followed by revolutions in Germany, Austria and the Italian states.

The Democratic Gains of the February Revolution. Almost immediately universal suffrage was declared for men of 21 and over. A decree on the right to work was passed which proclaimed that all citizens would be guaranteed work. Of course the adoption of this decree did not mean that it should be fulfilled, but it served to pacify the workers with

hope that it would. The latter demanded that the red flag, which had been the banner of the workers since 1832, should be declared the state flag. But the government only agreed to attach a red rosette to the pole of the tricolour flag. But it was now no longer possible to ignore completely the demands of the workers. In 1789 they had been relatively small in number, but by 1830 they already numbered several million and by the forties were already functioning as an independent force. The National Guard had also been increased, from 60,000 to almost 200,000, and many of these had originally been workers. In realization of this the Provisional Government repealed the ban on workers' associations and published a decree guaranteeing jobs to the workers. Instead of a Ministry of Labour, which was what the workers wanted, a Government Commission, known as the Luxembourg Commission, was set up for the workers and met in one of the halls of the palace. It was headed by Louis Blanc and Alexandre Albert, a worker and one of the leaders of the secret *Societe des Saisons*. But this commission had neither money nor real power. It was used by the bourgeoisie only to give the masses illusions, lull their vigilance and win time while they could strengthen their own forces.

One of the few real gains made by the working class in the February revolution was a reduction of the working day. In Paris and in the provinces this had previously been of the order of 11-12 hours a day. A decree published on March 2, 1848 established a 10-hour working day in Paris and an 11-hour day in the provinces. But it did not completely satisfy the workers, since they had wanted a 9-hour day.

Another very definite gain of the revolution was the Provisional Government decree of April 27, 1848 on abolishing slavery in the French colonies.

The Domestic Policy of the Provisional Government. To combat unemployment, which could cause new riots, the Provisional Government in early May organized in Paris and then in other towns so-called "national workshops". But even so, unemployment continued to rise. In March there had been 25,000 unemployed, but by May this figure had risen to 100,000. The whole economy of the country, particularly its industry, was destabilized. Factories and workshops were forced to close down through lack of raw materials. At first

the workers in the national workshops were sent to work on the land outside Paris, laying roads, digging canals and planting trees. Initially they worked daily, but then this was cut to two days a week, since the government had no money or opportunity to offer more work. This naturally caused discontent and resulted in demonstrations.

Certain indirect taxes were lifted (like the tax on salt and on goods brought into Paris). But though the Provisional Government reduced or abolished indirect taxation, it fixed a new direct tax of 45 centimes in the franc. This new taxation was worse on the peasants who paid four types of direct taxation. In this way the Provisional Government was able to set the peasants against the workers, whom the former believed to be responsible for the new tax.

Elections to the Constituent Assembly. The Demonstration of May 15. The National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, opened on May 4, 1848: 800 of the 900 deputies were bourgeois republicans and most of these were right-wing republicans, who had no desire for democratic change. The workers had no seats at all, but the monarchists had more than one hundred. From the outset the Constituent Assembly disgruntled the democratic forces of Paris by refusing a bill on the setting up of a ministry of labour and progress, adopting a law which restricted the right of petition and speaking openly against the revolutionary clubs.

To put pressure on the Constituent Assembly, the most left-wing elements of Paris, the workers and students, staged a demonstration. Some 150,000 people turned out and forced their way into the Palais Bourbon, where the Assembly was in session. The demonstrators demanded that armed aid should be sent to the Polish revolutionaries in Poznan and resolute measures be taken against unemployment and poverty in France. The speech in support of the Poles was made by Auguste Blanqui. After a long series of debates, one of the demonstration leaders Hubert, declared the Assembly dissolved (certain historians assume to this day that this was provocation). Then the police, the National Guard and the Mobile Guard broke up the demonstration and drove them out of the palace. Blanqui, Raspail, Albert and other prominent revolutionaries were arrested and imprisoned. Louis

Blanc fled the country. With these men gone the workers of Paris lost their best leaders.

The June Uprising of Paris Workers. After May 15 the onslaught of the counterrevolutionaries increased. The clubs were immediately closed and a law was published banning street meetings. Troops were brought into Paris. On June 22 the government issued a decree abolishing the national workshops. On June 23, 50,000 Parisian workers went behind the barricades. The June uprising was clearly proletarian in nature. But the insurgents had no leadership and no common plan of action. Even their demands were varied: from reopening the national workshops to dissolving the Constituent Assembly, from a social republic to the publication of a People's Constitution. From June 23 to June 26 bitter street fighting took place. On June 24 General Cavaignac was given dictatorial powers. Troops and practically the whole of the Mobile Guard had already been brought into Paris. Some of the workers had arms, but the government soldiers had artillery. The uprising was put down and whole districts of Paris were destroyed. Many of the foreigners living in Paris at the time described those events. This is how the Russian writer and revolutionary, Alexander Herzen, described them: "On the evening of June 26 we heard frequent volleys being fired from the government guns... We all looked at each other and every face was pale. 'That means they're shooting,' we said, almost as one and turned away from each other... For minutes like these hatred can last ten years, and vengeance a lifetime. Woe unto those who forgive minutes like these."*

The Reasons for the Defeat of the June Uprising and Its Historic Importance. One of the most important reasons for the defeat of the June 1848 uprising was the fact that the Parisian workers were isolated from the working class in the rest of the country. Also important was the hesitation of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the passivity of the peasantry. But the

* A.I. Herzen, *Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow, 1955, p. 43 (in Russian).

June uprising was historically important. Marx with good reason described it as “the first great battle ... fought between the two classes that split modern society. It was a fight for the presentation or annihilation of the *bourgeois* order.”* The June uprising was a watershed in the 1848 revolution in France. It now went rapidly downhill.

The Reactionary Outburst. The Presidential Elections of December 10, 1848. On June 28 General Cavaignac was given the title of Head of Executive Power. There began a wave of arrests and trials not only of the workers, but of all those who could be suspected of sympathizing with them. The decree on the reduction of the working day was abolished, the national workshops were disbanded and the revolutionary clubs closed down. French troops were sent to put down an insurrection in Italy. On November 4 a Constitution drawn up by the Constituent Assembly was proclaimed, which completely ignored the interests and needs of the working masses and banned the workers from going on strike. Under the new Constitution the head of the republic was to be a president elected by universal suffrage for a period of four years, while legislative power was to be in the hands of a Legislative Assembly for a period of three years. The president was given exceptionally wide powers. He formed the government, commanded the armed forces and controlled foreign policy. But he was not empowered to dissolve Parliament. The right to work was not made a guarantee, but the Constitution proclaimed bourgeois freedoms.

On December 10, 1848 the presidential elections were to be held. All parties put forward their own candidates—six in all. The bourgeois republicans supported Cavaignac; the workers put forward Raspail. But most votes went to Louis Bonaparte, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte. This was an outcome which few expected. But he received votes from the peasants, who were hoping for the abolition of the 45 centimes tax, and from the urban bourgeoisie, who were looking for a strong leader. Louis Bonaparte was also helped by the aureole that still surrounded Napoleon

* K. Marx, “The Class Struggles in France”, in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, p. 67.

Bonaparte and his military victories. After the presidential elections Herzen wrote: "Despite the cold and the early hour crowds of people thronged the boulevards; newsboys shouted on the sidewalks and five million votes laid France in bondage at the feet of Louis Napoleon... The empty hall has at last found its master."*

Once president, Louis Bonaparte appointed the monarchist, Odilon Barrot, head of government. His first step was to get rid of the old republican civil service apparatus. The bloc of monarchist parties – the Orleanists, the Legitimists and the Bonapartists – united to form the *Parti de l'Ordre*, the aim of which was to dissolve the Constituent Assembly and hold elections for a Legislative Assembly. The petty-bourgeois democrats and socialists, who considered themselves to be the successors to the Jacobin *Montagne* of 1793-1794, called themselves *La Nouvelle Montagne* and put forward plans for democratic change.

On May 13, 1849 the elections to the Legislative Assembly were held. The majority of seats (500) went to the *Parti de l'Ordre*. The *Nouvelle Montagne* won 180 seats and the right-wing republicans won 70.

On May 28 the Legislative Assembly opened. From the very beginning differences on foreign policy closely linked with differences of domestic policy were apparent. At the centre of these was the Roman question, as it was called. Earlier, in April, the French government had sent a military expedition to the recently formed Roman Republic. The left-wing republicans had opposed this counterrevolutionary intervention. At a meeting of the Legislative Assembly on June 11, Alexandre Ledru-Rollin had proposed that the president and the ministers be tried for violating the Constitution which prohibited sending the armed forces of the republic to crush the freedom of other peoples. The Legislative Assembly, however, rejected this proposal. On June 13 the *Nouvelle Montagne* organized an unarmed demonstration, but the police used weapons to break it up.

On May 31, 1850 the Legislative Assembly passed a new election law, according to which a person had to live at least

* Ibid., p. 236.

three years in one place in order to be eligible to vote. This deprived some three million people of their electoral rights.

The Coup d'Etat of December 2, 1851. Amongst the richer bourgeoisie disillusionment with the parliamentary system grew and there was a strong desire for "firm government", the kind of government which would protect the propertied classes from fresh revolutionary upheavals.

With comparatively little effort the Bonapartists won over the police and the army. They formed the *Société du dix décembre*, the day Bonaparte had been elected president. On December 2, 1851 the Bonapartist plotters with the president at their head made a coup d'état. The Legislative Assembly was dissolved, hostile politicians were arrested, resistance on the part of the democratic worker and student youth and the intelligentsia was crushed, thousands of demonstrators were detained and Bonapartists were put at the head of all ministries. To disguise the counterrevolutionary nature of the coup and pull the wool over democratic eyes, Louis Bonaparte declared the repeal of the law of May 31, 1850, which limited electoral rights.

But the *Société du dix décembre*, and even Louis Bonaparte himself needed to legitimize their actions. And so a few days later, on December 21, a referendum was held. This referendum, by all the rules of Bonapartism, was under the control of the army and the police, and gave the necessary majority to Louis Bonaparte — 7 million for; 646,000 against. Immediately such vestiges of democratic freedoms which remained were done away with. The road to empire was open.

Describing Bonapartism as a form of government, Lenin said: "Bonapartism ... grows out of the counterrevolutionary nature of the bourgeoisie, in the conditions of democratic changes and a democratic revolution."*

* V.I. Lenin, "They Do Not See the Wood for the Trees", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, p. 259.

Chapter XIII

GERMANY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY

Germany After the Congress of Vienna. The political structure of Germany during the early 19th century was defined by the Congress of Vienna, which on June 8, 1815 signed the Federal Act which brought into being the German Confederation. It included 34 independent states and 4 free cities (Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck and Frankfurt-am-Main). The kings of three foreign countries—England, Denmark and Holland—were recognized as sovereigns over Hannover, Holstein and Luxembourg. Austria and Prussia remained the largest states of the German Confederation and part of their lands was not included in this newly created confederation. (These were the Kingdom of Hungary, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venice and Galicia—belonging to Austria; and Western Prussia and Poznan, seized by the Hohenzollerns.) This decision increased Austria's and Prussia's independence from the central powers of the German Confederation.

This confederation as created by the congress was nominally the biggest state formation in Western Europe. Both in terms of territory and population it was larger than both England and France and came second only to Russia. It was a confederation of independent states which had no organic connections between them. There was no single legislation, no common army, no common finances and no common diplomatic representation. The supreme body was the Federal Diet at Frankfurt-am-Main, but the deputies were the representatives of kings, not people. The permanent chairman was the Austrian plenipotentiary, a zealous guardian of reactionary regimes and monarchic principles.

The political fragmentation of the country and the almost universal domination of feudal and semi-feudal traditions held up the formation and development of capitalist relations. Customs barriers between the states of the German Confederation, the absence of a single monetary, weights and measures system and the lack of a single body of laws concerning commerce had a negative effect on the development of a single national market and industry. Even so, between 1816 and 1841 capitalism did begin to develop. By 1847 there were 1,139 steam engines working in Germany. The mining and chemical industries made great strides, helped to a large degree by technical innovations, which the German capitalists borrowed from the English and the French. The most industrially developed areas were Rhine-Westphalia, Silesia, and Saxony. But the faster capitalism developed, the more it came into conflict with historical facts—the fragmentation of Germany and the domination of reactionary monarchist regimes.

The Struggle for Unity and Democratic Reforms. The first to demand unity in the country on a democratic basis were the students most of whom came from the petty bourgeoisie. On October 17, 1817 several hundred students gathered at the historic Wartburg Palace, where three hundred years before Martin Luther had hidden from Catholic persecution. At midnight on the square in front of the palace a fire was lit and various symbols of reaction burned, including books and leaflets by reactionary writers and the police code. These events gave the forces of reaction cause for a new campaign against “excessive liberalism” and “rebellious students”. The universities were brought under strict control and many people suspected of revolutionary activity were thrown into prison.

The victory of the July revolution in France increased the mass protest against the feudal-monarchic regimes. In Hessen and Braunschweig the monarchs abdicated under the pressure of mass discontent and their place was taken by others. In Hannover the authorities were able to put down the movement, but had to introduce a constitutional system. There were vigorous demonstrations in Saxony, particularly in Leipzig and Dresden, and these forced the king to make concessions. On May 27, 1832 the democratic opposition or-

ganized a mass political meeting in the town of Hambach, in which some 30,000 people from all over Germany took part together with revolutionary Polish and French emigres. Speakers demanded the unification of Germany and the proclamation of a republic. But eventually troops moved in and the most active demonstrators were arrested.

During the thirties a secret republican society, calling itself the Human Rights Society was formed in Hessen and Darmstadt. At its head stood Pastor Friedrich Weidig, a member of the revolutionary movement and Georg Büchner, a literary critic. In 1834 Büchner drew up the programme of the society, which contained the revolutionary call: "Peace to the Cottages, War on the Palaces!". But the society was broken up by the police.

The repressions led to the mass emigration of revolutionaries from Germany. Abroad they formed organizations to conduct revolutionary activity. In April 1834 the Young Germany society was formed in Switzerland. Its political programme contained the demand for a republic which could implement political and social equality. But the Young Germany failed to develop into a mass organization, since at the insistence of the German governments the Swiss authorities decided to expel all its members.

The Build-Up of the Forces of Opposition. The economic and political successes of the bourgeoisie following the July revolution in France and the 1832 parliamentary reform in England stimulated the growth of opposition among the German bourgeoisie, particularly in Rhine Prussia. But its political platform was extremely moderate. It included demands for the convening of an All-Prussia Representative Assembly, the organization of a German customs union and an end to Junker privileges.

Far more resolute were the calls of the radical petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Its interests were expressed through a literary current, which had been formed during the thirties also under the name of the Young Germany and whose ideological leaders were Ludwig Börne and Heinrich Heine.

It was the thirties that saw the split among the followers and pupils of Hegel. The left wing—the Young Hegelians—concentrated their attention on Hegel's dialectical method and drew progressive political conclusions from his teaching.

But when the German proletariat began to act independently, they soon turned to the right and became ordinary bourgeois liberals. Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872), however, chose a different route. As a materialist philosopher he first attached himself to the Young Hegelians. In his works, particularly in his book *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), he gave a materialist criticism of religion and Hegelian idealism. But though Feuerbach restored materialism to its rightful place, he was unable to extend it to the sphere of social relations. And though he justly criticized Hegel's idealistic system, he rejected the latter's dialectical method. The social views of this thinker, who denied the class struggle, never went further than a vague preaching of universal love and an affirmation of man's natural desire for happiness.

The Beginning of the Workers' Movement. The Silesian Weavers' Uprising. It was at this time that the first actions of German workers took place. The capitalist mode of production and the industrial revolution had brought great hardship to the German workers and this was made worse by various kinds of feudal vestiges. German industry could compete with more technically advanced industries of other countries only by lowering the workers' living standards. These dire material straits were the reason for the formation of an independent workers' movement. But workers' actions during the thirties were still mainly of a Luddite character.

The first independently organized workers' action in Germany was the uprising of the Silesian weavers in 1844. The Silesian weavers suffered under a double yoke of oppression. On the one hand they were exploited by the entrepreneur, on the other by the local landowner, to whom they had to pay a tax to be allowed to engage in a trade. The factory owners made huge deductions from their wages, which were in any case kept extremely low. Notorious in this respect were Zwanziger in Peterswaldau and the Dierig brothers, Friedrich and Wilhelm, in Langenbielau. The position of the weavers in these villages was so bad that there were cases of people dying of hunger. Discontent among the weavers fomented. On June 3 one of the workers was caught singing the song "The Bloody Court" under Zwanziger's window and was brutally beaten by his servants. In revenge a crowd of workers marched on Peterswaldau the next day and forced

their way into the house and warehouses of the hated factory owner. On June 5 they moved on to the neighbouring village of Langenbielau and smashed up a number of enterprises there. Troops were brought in. Some seventy weavers were caught, thrown into prison and severely beaten.

News of the uprising spread quickly throughout Germany bringing a sympathetic response from all the exploited and oppressed. Among the German democrats the uprising brought increased interest in social issues. Heine wrote his famous poem "The Weavers". Future member of the Communist League, Wilhelm Wolff, described the uprising from the proletarian point of view in an article entitled "The Weavers' Uprising in Silesia (June 1844)". The uprising encouraged the development of the mass struggle of the German workers.

The First Workers' Organizations. As the mass workers' movement grew, so workers' organizations began to be formed. But since in Germany itself there was little possibility for this, the first German revolutionary organizations of workers were formed abroad.

In 1833 a German People's Union was organized by republican democrats in Paris with the aim of achieving the unity and democratization of Germany. But following the repressive actions of the government, it was quickly dissolved. In its place in 1834 a *Bund der Verächdeten* (Outlaws' League) was formed from political emigres and artisans who had gone abroad in search of work. The League stated that its objective was the overthrow of the monarchic regimes in the German states and the creation of a single German republic. But social issues were only weakly reflected in the published documents of this organization.

In 1836 a split took place in the League with the most revolutionary elements, most of whom were proletarians, forming a new secret society called the League of the Just. This was a partly propagandist, partly conspiratorial society. This League wrote onto its banner the demand for common property as a necessary condition for equality. Its most prominent members were Karl Schapper and Heinrich Bauer. The League of the Just was powerfully influenced by Blanquism, but had its own concept of communism, which

differed from that of Blanqui, and was based on the works of Wilhelm Weitling.

Weitling was one of the most outstanding ideologists of the early stage of the workers' movement. In his works he reflected the moods and aspirations of the proletarianized artisans, who were still not yet brought together under a capitalist factory. His works *Mankind As It Is and As It Should Be* (1838), *Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom* (1842) and *The Gospel of a Poor Sinner* (1843) were to a certain extent the programme documents of the League. Weitling edited two magazines: *Hilferuf der deutschen Jugend* (The Appeal for Help of the German Youth) and *Die Junge Generation* (The Young Generation), which mainly printed his own articles.

Weitling's views were based on primitive egalitarian communism. Unlike the utopian socialists he put no hope in the "socialist activity" of the millionaire-philanthropist or the powerful monarch, believing instead that it was necessary to prepare the people for revolution. And it was with a call for revolution that Weitling appealed to the poor and oppressed and sought out revolutionaries among the lumpen proletariat of the big towns. But Weitling opposed the organized struggle of the proletariat, claiming that increased organization distracted the workers from the revolutionary path.

As the League grew, so did the political consciousness of its members. The experience of unsuccessful Blanqui-style plots showed that a revolution could not be brought about by conspirators. The leaders of the League of the Just, therefore, became deeply disillusioned with Blanquism, particularly its emphasis on conspiratorial methods. The theories of Robert Owen and Etienne Cabet were widely discussed, but they provided no answers to the questions which concerned the workers' movement. But when the leaders of the League tried unsuccessfully to develop a new social doctrine, they came to know Engels who helped them establish contact with the English Chartists. In 1845 together with the Chartists they formed an international association, which they called the society of Fraternal Democrats. The moving forces behind this association were Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. At the time the League of the Just showed two clearly marked tendencies—one leading to petty-bourgeois socialism, the other to scientific communism.

The Revolutionary Situation. The poor harvest and the trade and industrial crisis of 1847 had severe effect on all the German states. Thousands of worker and peasant families were starving and in some provinces whole villages died. In many German towns there were hunger riots. In April 1847 there was rioting in Berlin. On April 21 a "potato war" began and shops were smashed and looted. The demonstrators broke window glass in the palace of the heir to the Prussian throne and in the streets there were cries of "Revolution!". Similar events took place in Halle, Merseburg and the towns of Württemberg. In Stuttgart workers and artisans fought the police and for the first time in German history barricades went up. By the beginning of 1848 the whole of Germany had been gripped by a revolutionary situation and an explosion was inevitable. News of the February revolution in France hastened it.

The first to enter the revolutionary struggle were the workers, artisans and peasants of the Duchy of Baden. On February 27, 1848 a huge meeting was held in Mannheim and a number of demands of a democratic nature made to the government. Mannheim was followed by several other towns. The government made some concessions and announced the dismissal of some reactionary ministers. By mid March power in Baden was in the hands of the liberals.

Similar events took place in Hessen-Darmstadt and Württemberg. As a result, people's governments were formed in both states to include members of the liberal opposition. In Saxony and Bavaria coalition governments were formed of liberals and the old bureaucracy.

The rapid and easy victory of the liberal bourgeoisie in south-west Germany was the result of mass demonstrations, particularly of the peasantry demanding an end to the feudal system. Proletarian participation in the movement was insignificant.

The Revolution in Prussia. It was the events in Cologne on March 3 that were the beginning of the mass movement in Prussia and the first major action of the working class in Germany. On the evening of that day an enormous demonstration moved on *Rathaus* (the town hall), where at the time the "city fathers" were discussing a reform project that they hoped would help quell disorders. Some of the demonstra-

tors got into the Rathaus building and in their name Dr Andreas Gottschalk, a member of the Communist League, handed in a petition requesting universal suffrage, freedom of speech and the press, the abolition of the regular army and the arming of the people, the right to form unions, the right to work and social security for all, and the right to education for children at public expense. The vague character of the demands reflected the lack of political maturity among the authors of the petition. On handing in the document Gottschalk declared that he was doing so in the name of the working class. On the square outside the Rathaus the meeting continued and two of the speakers were August Willich and Friedrich Anneke of the Communist League. Eventually troops were brought in and the demonstration broken up.

Revolutionary events also took place in Berlin, the capital of Prussia. Meetings had been regularly held since March 6 at the Tiergarten at which workers and artisans as well as students had spoken. Demands were made for the equality of all citizens before the law, for a people's government and for an amnesty and political freedoms. But in these early days neither the character of the demands nor the size of the movement were such as could threaten the existence of royal power. But as time went on more and more workers joined in, the most advanced among whom came forward with revolutionary demands. The government then decided to use weapons against the demonstrators, but the shootings only brought new demonstrations. On March 17 crowds of demonstrators demanded the withdrawal of troops from Berlin, the formation of an armed people's militia and the convening of the United Landtag. The king made concessions to the liberal bourgeoisie and two decrees were issued the next day abolishing censorship and convening the United Landtag. But this was not enough. The people wanted the army withdrawn from Berlin. The royal guard was then sent in and the people, infuriated by this bloody provocation, began to build barricades. The fighting went on all night. By morning it became clear that the government troops had not the slightest chance of winning. The king then issued orders for the troops to withdraw from the city.

The fighting on the barricades in Berlin on March 18-19 was the zenith of the revolution. Its first stage was now completed with the defeat of extreme reaction and royal power.

Realizing the need to join forces with the liberals, the king and many of the Prussian reactionary Junkers made a temporary compromise with them. On March 29 a new government was formed under Ludolf Camphausen, the leader of the Rhineland liberals. David Justus Hansemann became minister of finance, but most of the ministerial portfolios went to embourgeoisified aristocrats. Once in power the bourgeoisie decided that the revolution had gone far enough and pursued a policy aimed at protecting the monarchy from further democratic pressure under the guise of talks on a general truce.

The Upsurge of the Workers' Movement. The German workers played a decisive role in the street fighting but had a very poor understanding of the contradictions between their interests and those of the bourgeoisie. The illusion of class peace was very strong among them, and became very evident during a mass meeting of workers and artisans on March 26. A resolution passed by the meeting demanded the formation of a ministry of labour, education for all, a reduction in the size of the army and help for those who had suffered injuries at work. A day later the organizers of the meeting decided to ask the king to return the troops to Berlin which had been withdrawn on March 19.

Some of the workers tried to create their own organizations. On March 29 a meeting of 150 members of various trades decided to form a German Workers' Club. During April and May workers and artisans everywhere formed their own professional organizations that would actively struggle for their demands. But their programme of action was extremely vague. Its basic idea was to "remove the friction between capital and labour".

By the middle of 1848 the workers' movement had achieved considerable success. Their political associations had become an important factor in the democratic movement. Thus on June 14 groups of workers went to a demonstration in Berlin despite a ban. The National Guard opened fire, but the demonstrators stormed the arsenal and armed themselves. Eventually regular troops were brought in and together with the National Guard they put down the uprising.

The Peasant Movement. After the events in March the peasants became more active in various parts of Germany, but particularly in Silesia where a full-scale peasant war was going on. The liberal ministers rejected demands to abolish feudal dues without redemption and agreed to repeal without compensation only those landowner's rights, which resulted from hereditary serfdom. Those dues which were the most burdensome for the peasant and most advantageous for the landowner, particularly corvee, had to be redeemed.

The peasants also tried to form independent organizations. In August 1848 the various unions of Silesia got together to form a *Bauernbund* (Peasant Alliance) whose Constituent Congress was held on August 27 in Schweidnitz. Its intention was to oppose attempts on the part of the Junkers to nullify the results of the peasant uprisings in the spring of that year. On September 22 and 23 a second congress was held at which the delegates proposed to refuse to pay taxes. But the attempt to form a peasants' organization on a national scale was not successful. Betrayal by the liberal bourgeoisie resulted in the defeat of the peasant movement, which in turn made a democratic solution to the agrarian question impossible.

The Frankfurt Assembly. The forces of revolution and counterrevolution fought over the main problem facing the country in 1848, namely, its unification. Most of the nobility who wished to retain their power and privileges were either overtly or covertly against unification. The liberal bourgeoisie suggested uniting the country around Austria or Prussia without making any changes in the social and economic structure. The petty-bourgeois democrats stood for a republic, but were unable to understand the common national interests of Germany. The majority of petty-bourgeois democrats were in favour of federalism.

On May 18, 1848 the National Assembly opened in Frankfurt. It faced a number of complex problems requiring immediate decision—ending the country's fragmentation, determining the future state structure and electing a Union Government, which would be the only vehicle of the sovereign power of the people.

On June 29 the Assembly elected the Austrian Archduke Johann Imperial Ruler of Germany. A Provisional Govern-

ment was set up under Anton Schmerling to provide him with counsel. Johann accepted the post on condition that his election would be ratified by all the monarchic rulers of the German Confederation.

The Assembly passed a law doing away with all internal customs duties and uniting all German states into a single Customs Union. Austria was to have been part of it, but its government refused. The Frankfurt Parliament passed an act on the freedom of movement within the German Confederation and on abolishing duties for river traffic. But the government did not implement these laws. The Assembly did not address itself to the peasant question, limiting itself rather to a declaratory statement on the intention to abolish all types of feudal dependence, but setting neither a time scale nor indicating the means for such abolition.

The reactionary policies of the Parliament were made quite apparent in its attitude towards the national movements in the German Confederation. The Assembly turned down demands for the restoration of Poland and the granting of independence to the Slavic peoples of Austria, the Tyrolean Italians and Lombardy-Venice. Most of the deputies approved of the punitive policy practised by the Prussian government in Poznan, welcomed the crushing of the Prague uprising and gave their support to the brutal acts of the Austrian General Radetzky in Italy.

The Truce of Malmo and the September Crisis. But there was direct betrayal of the interests of the revolution by the deputies over the national liberation movement in Schleswig and Holstein. The German population of Schleswig, which comprised the majority, requested that the duchy be included within the German Confederation. The royal government of Denmark turned down the request. On March 24 a democratic provisional government was set up in Schleswig-Holstein and it decided to break relations with Denmark. Danish troops were sent into the duchy. The Frankfurt Parliament authorized Prussia and Hannover to send aid to Schleswig-Holstein. Prussia declared war on Denmark and won it, freeing Schleswig and Holstein from the Danes. But England, Russia and France were opposed to any strengthening of Germany and proposed that Prussia sign an immediate truce with Denmark. On August 26 in the Swedish

town of Malmo an agreement was signed between Prussia and Denmark on the withdrawal of Prussian forces from both duchies. The Malmo Truce was approved by a majority of votes in the Assembly.

This act resulted in an explosion of indignation throughout the country. At huge meetings protest resolutions were adopted and appeals made to the Frankfurt Parliament to break the truce immediately and begin hostilities. In Frankfurt some 20,000 people surrounded the Parliament building demanding an end to the truce and threatening to break it up if the truce were not called off. The majority of the Assembly capitulated entirely to the counterrevolution and called Prussian, Austrian, Hessen and Württemberg troops to their aid. On September 18 serious fighting took place lasting six hours. The troops had to use artillery to emerge victorious over the masses.

The Coup d'Etat in Prussia. After putting down the Frankfurt uprising, the forces of the counterrevolution headed by the Prussian reactionaries went over to the offensive. Troops were brought into the capital. On September 21, the first time since March, a royal parade was held in Berlin. The democratic forces tried to organize resistance to the onslaught of counterrevolution. Antigovernment street demonstrations went on continuously in Berlin and there were frequent skirmishes with the police. Mass demonstrations also took place in Cologne and the peasant movement grew. Signs of revolutionary ferment were also apparent in the Prussian Army, but the counterrevolution proved stronger.

News of the collapse of the revolution in Vienna inspired the Prussian counterrevolutionaries. On November 3 a new ministry was formed in Berlin headed by Count Brandenburg, an out-and-out enemy of democracy. All left-wing papers were closed and democratic organizations dissolved. The National Guard was ordered to disarm. On November 9 a decree was published transferring the Prussian Constituent Assembly to Brandenburg, but the Assembly decided to take no notice of the decree and remain in Berlin. For several days it continued to meet, but soon afterwards troops were used to break it up.

The masses began a movement in defence of the Assembly. Meetings were held in many towns and they openly came

out on the side of the Berlin Parliament. On November 23 and 24 armed clashes between the army and the people occurred in Erfurt. Resistance was particularly strong in those places where there were major worker unions. But Berlin remained quiet. The National Guard handed over its weapons without resistance.

The Prussian Constitution. On December 5 royal decrees were published dissolving the old Assembly and convening a new one in February 1849. At the same time the king "granted" a Constitution. It proclaimed freedom of speech, meetings and unions, but preserved the power of the king "by the grace of God" and gave him absolute veto, unlimited control of the army and the unconditional right to declare war. It also declared private property to be inviolable. The old criminal legislation was kept, as was the tax system and the disciplinary rules in the army.

At the elections to the new Constituent Assembly the opposition forces were successful. This angered the reactionaries. On April 28, 1849 the Assembly was dissolved for the second time. On May 30 Friedrich Wilhelm IV published the electoral law which repealed universal suffrage. It divided the electorate, which consisted of men of thirty and over, into three classes depending on how much tax they paid. The first class contained 153,000 of the most wealthy, the second 409,000 and the third 2,651,000. Each class had to elect an equal number of representatives through open voting. On January 31, 1850 the king "granted" Prussia a new Constitution which restricted democratic freedoms even more and openly placed all power in the king's hands.

On March 2, 1850 a law was passed on the redemption of peasant duties. The peasants were obliged to redeem almost all their duties at 18 times their actual cost. The Prussian landowners lost none of their political or economic privileges.

The Imperial Constitution. In autumn 1848 when the counterrevolutionaries went over to the offensive, the Frankfurt Parliament began to work out a new Constitution, the aim of which was to give the German people their long-awaited unity. On March 27, 1849 the document was accepted by Parliament. But the Constitution retained all 36

German monarchies together with the old civil service. Centralized power in the unified state was to be in the hands of an emperor and a two-chamber all-German Parliament – the Reichstag. The Constitution was far from being democratic, but it did contain some progressive elements since it reduced the political fragmentation of the country and proclaimed the equality of all before the law, and freedom of speech and meetings.

On March 28 the Assembly passed a resolution offering the imperial crown to the King of Prussia, who declared his readiness to stand at the head of a “Common German Fatherland”, but made his agreement dependent on the decision of the other German monarchs. During April the kings of Austria, Bavaria, Saxony and Hannover rejected the Constitution. On April 28 the King of Prussia announced his refusal to accept the imperial crown.

The Struggle for the Imperial Constitution. Seeing the Constitution as a deliverance from their feudal dues and a means to unite the country, the workers, peasants and artisans began an armed struggle in defence of it. On May 4 bloody clashes took place in Dresden between the people and the police. But the uprising could only be put down with the help of Prussian troops. On May 10-11 there were uprisings in Barmen, Elberfeld, Solingen, Düsseldorf and Iserlohn. These were followed on May 13-15 by mass unrest in Baden and Bavarian Pfalz. Prussian troops were sent in to restore order. By mid-July a 60,000-strong army had taken Kaiserslautern, crossed the Rhine and entered Baden. Soon afterwards Karlsruhe and Freiburg were taken. On July 23 the revolutionary Rastatt – the last bulwark of the movement – fell. The most active force was the working class, but the leadership was in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie, though it was continually hesitant and indecisive.

The defeat of the uprising meant the end of the Frankfurt Parliament. In May it moved to Stuttgart, the capital of Württemberg and in June was dissolved by the Württemberg government.

The Strategy and Tactics of Marx and Engels During the Revolution. In March 1848 the founders of scientific communism drew up in the name of the Central Committee of

the Communist League the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany". This document provided an independent proletarian programme for democratic revolution in Germany. It served as a platform to unite all progressive forces in the country in the struggle for the victory of the revolution. The main slogan of the communists was the demand for a single German republic. The programme made a number of political demands aimed at making the country more democratic. Economic proposals were aimed at ending feudalism and its vestiges.

During the first weeks of the revolution Marx and Engels tried to turn the Communist League into a mass political party. But their efforts were not crowned with success, for the working class was not yet ready to form a party on a national scale. The members of the League joined the left wing of the democratic movement to form virtually a proletarian flank. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which started publication in Cologne on June 16, 1848 under the editorship of Marx, Engels and other communists, became the centre for all democratic forces. The political platform of the paper was a programme for bringing the revolution to a final victory as outlined in the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany". The paper was a centre for organizing the masses, particularly the proletariat. The editors virtually fulfilled the functions of the Central Committee of the Communist League, trying to get ideological and political unity among communists.

As well as working on the paper, Marx and Engels directed their efforts to organizing proletarian and democratic forces. With this aim in view they joined the Democratic Society, which brought together workers, artisans, the petty bourgeoisie and the democratic intelligentsia. Communists worked in the various workers' organizations. These organizations set up a common committee, which was trying to organize a regional congress of Rhine and Westphalian democrats. But this was opposed by Andreas Gottschalk, a former member of the Communist League and at the time head of the Cologne Workers' Association. Failing to understand that the objectives facing the German revolution were bourgeois-democratic and not socialist, he demanded the immediate formation of a "workers' republic".

Opportunistic tendencies showed themselves in the work of one of the members of the Communist League, Stephan Born, who headed the "Workers' Fraternity". The formation of the society marked an important step towards the creation of an independent workers' organization on a national scale. But the achievement of this goal was held up by the basic programme of the organization, which reflected that the dominant trends among the workers had an economic nature. Born's intention was to form with state help and proletarian financing workers' production associations which would eventually oust capitalist enterprises. This distracted the attention of the German workers from their common political objectives and held back their participation in the political struggle.

During the revolution the communists fought actively to form their own independent political party. But the triumph of the counterrevolution frustrated these plans. Most of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were prosecuted. On May 16, 1849 Marx was ordered to leave Prussia: The last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, printed in red ink, came out on May 19.

The Results of the Revolution. The first bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany did not achieve its aims, or rather only partially achieved them. The Junkers and monarchist counterrevolutionaries were victorious. The main reason for this was that in the country there was no class capable of leading the movement. From the very outset of the revolution the liberal bourgeoisie allied itself with the monarchy and the nobility against the people. The democratic petty bourgeoisie were incapable of leading a popular struggle. The peasant movement was cut off from the democratic movement in the towns and had no proper leadership. The German proletarians took a most active part in the revolution, but in view of their small numbers, insufficient maturity and lack of a political party they were unable to assume the leadership of the revolutionary movement. Another important reason for the defeat was the lack of a political centre. The dozens of uncoordinated revolutionary uprisings were put down with comparative ease by the united forces of the feudal-monarchist counterrevolution.

But the revolutionary events left their mark. They influenced all aspects of social life. The struggle of the working masses forced the ruling classes to make a number of social and economic changes, which helped to accelerate the development of capitalism. The revolutionary events of 1848-1849 were an important landmark in the social and political development of the working class and in the formation of its class consciousness.

Chapter XIV

THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE IN THE 1860s

The Social and Economic Development of the Empire. The growing political influence of the Austrian Empire during the 19th century was not accompanied by a similar growth in its economic potential. On the contrary, Austria was clearly behind the leading European countries, which were already on the road to industrial revolution. Throughout the first half of the 19th century the Austrian Empire remained chiefly agrarian with two-thirds of the population engaged in either agriculture or forestry whose further development was, moreover, held back by the persisting feudal relations and the dependent position of the peasantry. Manufacturing and trade were hampered by the guild system and the numerous internal duties. Fearing a concentration of revolutionary-minded workers in the capital, Franz I banned the opening of new manufactories and factories. Strict censorship held back cultural progress. Many of the great works of world literature like those of Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe were banned. Education was entirely under the control of the Church. Political and cultural oppression was brought to its highest state under Metternich, who had enormous power and influence under the Emperor Ferdinand I (1835-1848). Police surveillance and the opening of private correspondence and even diplomatic mail and secret trials and executions were only some of the methods employed by Metternich. His attitude to the subject peoples was based on the principle "divide and rule" and his policies were aimed at preserving the obsolete feudal system and the absolute power of the monarchy.

Nevertheless, even in Austria the growth of the new productive forces which were the preconditions for the change to capitalism slowly but surely undermined the foundations

of the old order. In the 1830s and 1840s the industrial revolution began in the most developed provinces of Lower Austria and Bohemia. In 1816 the first English-made steam engine was installed in a scarf factory in Brno. By the late 1820s there were already 11 such machines, by the 1840s there were 30, and by the 1850s there were 900. During the 1830s and 1840s the amount of coal mined in the country rose fourfold, while the production of pig iron doubled. Railway construction began just three years later than in England (1828), but by 1846 Austria had had no more than 148 kilometres of rail. In 1830 the first regular steam line opened connecting Vienna with Pest in Hungary. Despite the less favourable conditions and great economic backwardness of Hungary there was still economic growth in those two decades particularly in Pest-Buda and in certain parts of Transylvania and Slovakia. But only 5 per cent of the population (14.5 million) of Hungary, Croatia and Transylvania were engaged in industry. Capitalist evolution in the villages could be seen in the sharp increase in the production of industrial crops like potatoes, tobacco, rice and indigo, the improvement of farming methods and tools, the increase in arable land and the irrigation of dry lands and the draining of marshes.

The first banks and savings banks which appeared in the 1840s were too small to meet the credit requirements of agriculture. And this in turn reduced the possibilities for replacing the free, but highly unproductive labour of the serfs with more effective hired labour and prevented the extensive use of machinery in farming. Due to the feudal ownership of the land, the landlords could not raise loans on it and engage in a more intensive form of farming. The result was even worse feudal exploitation of the peasants.

The Pre-March Period. The crisis of feudal absolutism, which got worse every year, became particularly evident after the overthrow of the July monarchy in France. The two decades that preceded the bourgeois revolution of 1848 are known in Austrian history as the "Pre-March Period" and were marked by unprecedented social and political activity and a shaking up of the whole cultural life of the country. All sectors of society with the exception of the ruling class felt the inevitability of deep social changes and radical political reforms.

After the July revolution in Paris and under the direct influence of the uprising in Poland, antifeudal riots occurred in the neighbouring provinces of north-eastern Hungary, the immediate cause of which was an outbreak of cholera. Alongside the "cholera riots" involving Slovak, Ruthenian, Hungarian and Walachian peasants, a movement arose in support of the Polish insurrectionists. The Hungarian nobility with medium-sized estates which had assumed the functions of a national bourgeoisie, began to understand that the liberation of the peasants from feudal oppression was the only way to achieve independence for the state and the bourgeois transformation of society.

In the early thirties Count Istvan Szechenyi, one of the leading figures in the "period of reform" (1830-1840) in Hungary, worked out an extensive programme for bourgeois reform which included abolishing serfdom, replacing corvée with hired labour, doing away with the guilds, encouraging national industry and founding a network of credit institutions and the National Bank. At the same time he was deeply convinced of the need to preserve the political and economic positions of the aristocracy and the major landowners and maintain the alliance between the Hungarian nobility and the Hapsburg dynasty. During the 1840s Lajos Kossuth, a lawyer and an impoverished nobleman, became the recognized leader of the movement. He was more decisive and consistent and unlike Szechenyi was not afraid of problems with the court in Vienna and the Hapsburg dynasty or of confrontation with the aristocracy. At the same time the movement began to form a revolutionary-democratic wing headed by Sándor Petöfi, a poet, and Mihai Tancsics, the son of a serf, a passionate defender of the interests of the working people and a supporter of the French revolution and utopian socialism.

The power and scale of the reform movement in Hungary and its effectiveness were largely determined by the fact that it was well-organized and relied not only on the historic traditions of independence and love of freedom, but also on the legal forms of political organization and political activity—the National Assembly and the assembly of comitats, which on the eve of the revolution had become legal forums of opposition to Austria and feudalism. During the 1840s the movement managed to win the National Assembly's approval

for a number of bourgeois reforms, in particular making the Hungarian language official. But the interests of the Rumanian and Slavic peoples, who formed half the population, were not taken into account.

The National Renaissance of the Slavic Peoples in the Austrian Empire. The oppressed peoples of the empire became more and more insistent in their demands to achieve bourgeois freedoms and national equality. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, particularly in the 1830s and 1840s, the change to capitalist relations, which did away with local isolation, and the increasing level of education accelerated the development of individual peoples into modern nations. For the Southern Slavs, Czechs, Rumanians and Slovaks living in Austria and Hungary there came a period of national renaissance. National movements became very active, all of which were essentially antifeudal in character. They were all profoundly influenced by European Enlightenment, enlightened absolutism and its Austrian variation — Josefinism.

During the first stage of the national renaissance of the Czechs and Slovaks — the latter decades of the 18th and the early 19th centuries — the intention was to encourage the masses to understand their own national identity, to develop and spread the national literary language and to inculcate a love of national culture. There appeared a number of enlighteners, known as the “awakeners”, men like Josef Dobrovsky (1753-1829), who wrote works on the history of the language and cultures of the Czechs and other Slavs, and Josef Jungmann (1773-1847), a scholar and philosopher who wrote a Czech-German dictionary and a textbook on Czech literature.

Extremely important in the work of the “awakeners” was the propagandizing of the ideas of common Slavic solidarity. They sincerely believed in the power and greatness of the Slavs and hoped for Russian help in the struggle with their oppressors. The great Slovak poet, Jan Kollar (1793-1852), who wrote in Czech since there was no Slovak literary language at the time, glorified the Slavic past and its heroes — Jan Hus, Jan Zizka, Tadeus Kosciuszko, Minin and Pozharsky — in a poem entitled “Daughter of Glory” (1824). He upheld the idea of a single “Slavic nation” and looked upon the Slovaks as part of the “Czechoslovak family” without the

right to independent national and cultural development just like other small Slavic peoples. Kollar did not understand that during the age of capitalism modern nations were being formed from small nationalities and he did not see that his fellow kinsmen, the Slovaks, had already embarked upon that route. Meanwhile during the 1840s certain changes had been made in the business of creating an independent literary language for the Slovaks and furthermore there was now co-operation between the Catholics and the Protestants. The national movement began to acquire political features.

In the person of Louis Stur (1815-1856) they found a capable national leader, who together with like-minded people began a movement to create a Slovak literary language. Using the Middle Slovak language spoken by the people, Stur and his associates began the printing of books and in 1845 published the *Slovak National Newspaper*, which for the first time formulated a programme for the fledgling national bourgeoisie.

The national movements of the Slovaks and the other oppressed peoples of the Austrian Empire were enormously influenced by the successes of the Magyars who had managed to beat back attempts to force the German language on them and succeeded in replacing medieval Latin with Hungarian as the official language of their country, even though the Magyars, concerned with the fate of their own language, gave no thought to the legitimate interests of other peoples. The impending threat of Magyarization encouraged other national aspirations and expanded and united the national movements of the Slavs and Walachians, but on the other hand resulted in these movements being opposed to the Magyar national movement. And ultimately this prevented the creation of a united front against the main enemy of all the peoples of the Austrian Empire—the feudal absolutism of the Hapsburgs.

A similar situation was also taking place on the eve of the 1848 revolution in Bohemia, where the Czechs had already made great strides in developing national culture, deepening and strengthening national self-awareness and consolidating the national bourgeoisie, which had already thrown down a challenge to the German bourgeoisie. But in Bohemia and Moravia there was a large German population, whose national interests clashed with those of the Czechs in the

spheres of economics, language and culture, a fact which interfered with the consolidation of the liberal democratic forces of both peoples in their struggle against the feudal-absolutist regime.

The Revolution of 1848 in Austria. The economic crisis of 1846 and three continuous years of poor harvest (1845-1847) had catastrophic consequences for the empire. Inflation, high prices—particularly the price of bread and of potatoes which had newly become the “daily bread” of the masses—and unprecedented mass unemployment had brought about an explosive situation in the empire. And once again it was the events in Paris in February 1848 which became the detonator. The news reached Vienna on February 29 and within a few days deputies of the Landtag (estates assembly) from Lower Austria and the bourgeois Industrial Alliance were demanding reforms, an end to censorship and the convening of an all-Austria parliament. The revolution began in Austria on March 13 with demonstrations and spontaneous meetings of the poor, the students and the burghers of Vienna. Thousands of people filled the streets around the Landtag and demanded the immediate retirement of Austria’s evil genius, Prince Metternich, and the proclamation of a Constitution. The demand for a Constitution for the whole empire and the carrying out of bourgeois reforms were contained in Kosuth’s speech of March 3, the text of which was read in the streets and squares of the Austrian capital. At midday the government decided to bring in troops and the first clashes began. By evening the town was covered with barricades erected by the workers and students. The latter then began the formation of the *Akademische Legion* which soon became famous. Some of the soldiers refused to fire on the people. Even the emperor himself was hesitant. He agreed to give arms to the students, not to prevent the formation of a bourgeois National Guard and to dismiss Metternich. The reactionary regime, a symbol of hatred throughout Europe, fell in one day. The revolution won its first major victory. Members of the liberal bourgeoisie were now included in the reorganized government.

But this temporary unity among the diverse forces of the revolution soon disappeared. The bourgeoisie, particularly its wealthier members, were satisfied with what they had

achieved and now only concerned themselves about maintaining law and order. The plebeian masses, however, excited by their victory, were ready to continue the fight for their own basic needs. They demanded the right to work, an end to indirect taxation, the establishment of a 10-hour working day and increased wages. The peasants demanded an end to redemption payments.

The government prepared a draft Constitution which proclaimed bourgeois freedoms (of the press, of meetings and of speech) and proposed the formation of a two-chamber Reichstag (parliament) and a government that was answerable to it. The emperor still retained essential rights and prerogatives: supreme command of the armed forces and the right to veto all decisions of the Reichstag. The right to vote was made contingent on a high property qualification. In answer to this attempt to restore absolutism the Viennese democrats formed a revolutionary body called the Political Committee of the National Guard. When the government tried to disband the committee on May 15, the people once again came out on to the streets of the capital and began to erect barricades. The authorities were forced to retreat and the next day the decision to disband the committee was repealed and the troops were withdrawn from the city. That night the emperor and his court secretly left the capital for the Tyrolean Alps where the population was deeply religious and devoted to the royal dynasty. The temporary balance of power was broken on May 26 when the War Minister, Count La Tour, tried to disarm the Akademische Legion. The workers from the suburbs came to the help of the students. This decisive action on the part of the masses made the troops hesitate and many were unwilling to fire on the people. All power in Vienna passed to the Committee of Public Security, headed by Adolf Fischhof. The victory in Vienna was made considerably easier by the fact that the main imperial forces were stationed in Hungary and Italy, which were also in the throes of revolutionary uprising.

In July the Austrian Reichstag began its sessions. It became the scene of sharp clashes between the forces of democracy and reaction. Many of its deputies were Slavs—Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians, some of whom represented the interests of the peasants. But the political leadership was taken by moderate liberals and this had its effect on the char-

acter of the decisions taken. The Reichstag passed a law abolishing the relations of feudal serfdom, which was undoubtedly an important step forward. An insignificant number of the feudal dues were abolished without compensation, but the worst of them—quit-rent and corvee—were subject to redemption and the state only paid one-third of the compensation. The ruling circles presented this law, approved by the emperor, as some “blessing” from the royal dynasty, which did much to encourage the growth of monarchist illusions among the ignorant and backward rural population. And the final result of this was that the forces of reaction were able to set the agrarian provinces against the plebeian-democratic capital and this played a fateful role in the history of the Austrian revolution. It was with the help of the peasant deputies that the reactionaries were able to get a resolution passed providing for the financial backing of the counterrevolutionary war in Italy and Hungary.

The whole complexity of the nationalities problem, particularly the problem of the Germans was raised by the revolution. The attitude of the Austrian bourgeoisie towards the most important issue of the unification of Germany was contradictory. A large part of the German-speaking Austrians continued to see themselves as part of the German ethno-social community. The Austrian bourgeoisie, like the Hapsburg dynasty, laid claim to a leading role in a new united Germany and were ready to include in it the multinational empire with all its non-German peoples whether the latter wanted to be part of it or not. Therefore the participation of Austrian delegates at the Frankfurt Assembly, which met in Paulskirche, aroused the legitimate anxiety of the Czechs and other Slavs. Austria's traditional rival—Prussia—also objected, as did other German states.

In June 1848 a congress of representatives of the Slavic peoples was held in Prague in opposition to the Frankfurt Assembly and it came out against inclusion in Germany and for the continuation of the Austrian Empire. Frantisek Palacky (1798-1876), a liberal and the leader of the Czechs, was quite justified in his belief that the inclusion of Austria together with the Czech lands in a future German republic would result in the Czechs being engulfed in a German environment and the eventual loss of their national identity. Therefore he proposed that the Slavic peoples should uphold

the monarchy and defend it against all its enemies, i.e., the German and the Hungarian revolutions. Thus began the doctrine of Austroslavism.

When Austrian soldiers attacked a peaceful demonstration in Prague there was an immediate uprising, which was brutally put down by the Austrians on June 17. After Prague it was inevitably the turn of Vienna. Having crushed the revolution in Northern Italy and been victorious in the war against Sardinia, the government acted more decisively. The victories of the Austrian commander-in-chief, Radetzky, inspired Johann Strauss to compose "Radetzky's March" and the Austrian poet Franz Grillparzer to write a poem praising the great soldier. All this showed that a turning-point had been reached in public opinion. A clear demarcation of forces took place in Vienna. On August 23 bourgeois units of the National Guard opened fire on a workers' demonstration that was protesting against a reduction in pay for the poor that were engaged in social work. The liberal bourgeoisie had now finally abandoned the bourgeois revolution. But the revolution was not finished yet. Its last flames still glowed in Hungary.

During the first days of October workers, artisans, and students in a display of revolutionary solidarity with the uprising in Hungary blocked the way of troops sent to put down the uprising. The Viennese stormed the building of the Defence Ministry and hung up the minister, Count La Tour, on a lamp-post. The imperial court left the capital once more, but this time it took refuge in the Czech town of Olomouc (Olmütz). On October 22 Vienna was surrounded by troops commanded by the "butcher of Prague", General Windischgratz and the Croatian leader, Josip Jellacic. The capital was stormed and fell on November 1. The army sent by revolutionary Hungary to support the insurgents was smashed. This marked the end of the Austrian revolution and the beginning of reprisals against Hungary. To make this easier, there was a small coup d'état in the court and the weak-willed and feeble-minded Ferdinand was forced to abdicate in favour of his 18-year-old nephew, Franz Josef (1848-1916).

The Revolution of 1848 in Hungary. The Hungarian bourgeois revolution began on March 15, 1848, the day after the

victorious uprising of the people of Vienna. The events in Pest were led by a group of radical youth under Sandor Petofi. In answer to their appeal the workers, artisans and students of Pest seized a printshop and began the publication of the "National Song", which had recently been written by Petofi and a programme document of the revolution entitled the Twelve Points which had been drawn up by revolutionary democrats with Petofi's help. Apart from demanding bourgeois freedoms, the Twelve Points insisted on an end to corvee, the institution of a national bank, the withdrawal of imperial forces from the country, the return of the Hungarian regiments to their homeland, the formation of an independent government and the reunification of Hungary and Transylvania.

The demonstrators freed Mihai Tancsics from prison and formed a Committee of Public Safety. On March 17 the first national government was formed responsible to the National Assembly. It was headed by Count Batthyany, one of the leaders of the opposition. Lajos Kossuth became minister of finance. A more radical peasant reform than that in Austria was begun. Corvee and Church tithes were abolished and one-third of the arable land was given over to the peasants. The serfs who formed 40 per cent of the peasant population were made equal and free without compensation being paid to their owners. Compensation was to be paid by the state. The peasants with little or no land, however, managed to extend and deepen the agrarian reforms, in particular by winning recognition of their own rights to land which had previously been taken from them by the landowners. During the disturbances which gripped the whole country in March and April there were instances of the unauthorized seizure and division of landowners' estates. The government satisfied only one of the peasants' demands, but it was a very important one — the abolition of the tithe on wine.

In late March the Viennese court made an attempt to deprive Hungary of its revolutionary gains. But decisive action by the people of Pest forced the emperor to officially approve the revolutionary laws. Bourgeois freedoms and land were given to all peoples of the Kingdom of Hungary. But the national rights of the non-Hungarian peoples were not even made the subject of discussion. Therefore the Hungarian revolution rapidly began to lose its potential allies, while

the forces of Austrian reaction did everything to fan the flame of discord between the peoples. In the south of the country, which was largely populated by Serbs, armed conflicts soon broke out. The leadership of the national movement of the Serbs, the Transylvanian Rumanians and the Croats passed into the hands of right-wing or moderate elements who allied themselves to the forces of Austrian counterrevolution.

The Hungarian government ordered the arrest of Louis Stur and others after it had received a moderately worded petition requesting respect for the national rights of the Slovaks and the formation of a local diet. The Slovak leaders then joined the Hapsburg counterrevolutionaries. A National Council formed in September declared Slovakia an independent state within Hungary. Then in September and again in November 1848 military expeditions were organized in Vienna. But the Slovak peasants turned out to be unreceptive to national-patriotic agitation. They supported the Hungarian army and the invasion units, many of which were manned by Czechs, were easily and rapidly scattered.

The counterrevolutionary war against Hungary had begun in September 1848 when Jellacic, the Croatian leader, had invaded the country. But this mortal threat hanging over the country brought a fresh flood of revolutionary fervour. The Committee of Public Safety, which was headed by Kossuth, began to organize for defence. The revolution now entered a new stage and became a war of liberation. A new army, formed with astonishing rapidity and armed through the efforts of Kossuth, halted the advancing Croatian troops in late September and then threw them back into Austria. After the failures of the winter campaign the Hungarian troops made a series of crushing defeats on the imperial forces in spring 1849 and reached once more the Austrian borders. The empire was faced with catastrophe, but this was averted by the armed intervention of tsarist Russia. The fate of revolutionary Hungary was decided by the invasion of two hundred thousand Russian soldiers under the command of Fieldmarshal Paskevich. On August 13, 1849 the Hungarian army laid down its arms at Vilagos.

The Austrian Empire in 1849-1867. After the crushing of the revolution the empire was ruled by a so-called neo-abso-

lutist regime. It was based on a counterrevolutionary alliance of the big bourgeoisie, the monarchy and the large landowners. But there was no complete restoration of the feudal-absolutist system, no return to the "old regime". Neo-absolutism finally took shape at the end of 1851 when the Constitution "granted" by the emperor in March 1849 was finally abolished. Serfdom was not restored. The laws passed in the early fifties confirmed on the whole the revolutionary reforms, but their implementation was carried out in a way detrimental to the interests of the peasants and to the advantage of the landowners, who were guaranteed vast redemption sums by the government. The introduction of capitalism into agriculture, the abolition of limitations on foreign trade and the granting of special privileges for the purchase of land and mines to the railway and steamshipping companies resulted in an economic revival. Railways began to be built all over the country, stretching by the end of the 1860s over a distance of 6,000 kilometres.

But the political position of the empire, both at home and abroad, was characterized by instability. Hostility to Russia on the part of the Viennese Court during the Crimean War resulted in the latter's political isolation. In 1859 Austria was defeated in a war with France and Piedmont and forced to give up one of its richest provinces – Lombardy. This defeat was followed by the collapse of the neo-absolutist regime and Austria entered a period of constitutional experiment. Draft Constitutions published in 1860 and 1861 (known respectively as the October Diploma and the February Patent) were, however, too moderate to satisfy the liberal bourgeoisie. They gave rise to fierce protest in Hungary. The Hungarian nobility, headed by the moderate politician, Ferenc Deak, offered "passive resistance" and refused to cooperate with the Austrian authorities, and demanded restoration of the 1848 Constitution. After the Austro-Prussian War (1866), which resulted in Austria quitting Germany for ever, the Hapsburg dynasty was forced to enter into negotiations with the Hungarian opposition on terms proposed by Deak. In February 1867 an agreement was concluded between Austria and Hungary, by which the empire became a dualist Austro-Hungarian monarchy, consisting of two internally independent states.

Chapter XV

ITALY IN 1700-1850

The Political and Economic Position of the Country. Italy entered modern history under the heavy burden of its medieval heritage. It was divided into eight states (the largest being Lombardy, the Kingdom of Sardinia, the Papal States, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Kingdom of Naples) and totally dependent on foreign powers. Half a century of struggle for domination in Italy had resulted in the mid-18th century in the Spanish being replaced by the Austrians as oppressors. Economic and public life in all the Italian states was in a state of deep crisis. The privileged estates—the nobility and the clergy—through pursuit of their own limited self-interest encouraged the spread of corruption, embezzlement and financial disarray. Increased exploitation of the rural masses resulted in impoverished peasants leaving their homes in large numbers and going into the towns. Many of these were unable to find work and joined the urban beggars or highway robbers.

Although the reforms made by the monarchs in most of the states during the second half of the 18th century did something to improve the Italian economy, they did nothing to change the feudal-absolutist nature of these states. Even so, better conditions for the development of capitalism in trade and industry did come about, particularly in Northern Italy. Progressive representatives of the bourgeois and noble intelligentsia, who believed themselves to be the successors of the great traditions of the Italian Renaissance in the steps of Dante, Petrarca and Machiavelli, saw the national independence and unity of Italy as the most important condition for the renewal of Italian society. But the Italian enlighteners were not revolutionaries. All their hopes for restructuring

Italy were placed on the enlightened monarchs. It took the powerful spur of the French revolution to incite progressive forces in Italy into open political struggle for a united and independent country.

A whole historical era, known as the *Risorgimento* or reunification and lasting from the end of the 18th century to the 1870s, was required before a united Italy was finally achieved. But particularly important in this stormy, dramatic period was the first stage which lasted until the 1848-1849 revolution, for it was then that the forces were built up that would eventually bring about the unification of Italy and win national independence. It was during this period that the main ideological currents of the *Risorgimento*—revolutionary-democratic and moderate-liberal—began to form. One of the brightest and most important pages in the early period of the reunification is the history of the Carbonari society, which in numbers and scale of activity had no equals, not only among the Italian secret societies, but also among all other revolutionary secret societies of the time in other European countries.

The Carbonari Movement. The secret revolutionary society of the Carbonari appeared in Southern Italy at the end of the first decade of the 19th century. It arose in protest against Napoleonic oppression. For apart from all the positive changes which Napoleon brought after occupying the whole of continental Italy—the unification of a large part of the country and a number of important economic and administrative measures—the burden of dependence on France became increasingly heavy for all sections of the population. This was the case in Southern Italy where the peasants especially suffered from the occupation forces. It was this peasant movement which provided the soil from which Carbonarism grew in the Kingdom of Naples. The organizers of the first Carbonari societies were the Neapolitan Jacobins, who had formerly taken part in the routed democratic movement of 1796-1799 that had developed under the influence of the French revolution.

With the collapse of Napoleonic power the Carbonari movement crossed the borders of Southern Italy and spread throughout the country. But the overthrow of Napoleon did not bring Italy national liberation. French oppression was re-

placed by Austrian, which was even worse. The province of Lombardy-Venice became part of the Austrian Empire, while the rest of the Italian states came under Austrian influence. For this reason the most important political slogan of the Carbonari movement was the demand for national independence.

The reactionary system imposed in all the restored absolutist states of Italy, particularly in the Kingdom of Naples and the Papal States, and abject poverty in the towns and villages caused general discontent. In these conditions the Carbonari became popular, for they were actively in command of the forces of opposition. In most of Southern and part of Central Italy Carbonarism was supported by the peasants, who hoped that their struggle would lead to an improvement in their own material position. But the contacts between the Carbonari leaders and the peasants were unstable, due primarily to the inconsistency of the Italian landowners who formed the leading nucleus of the Carbonari. Though they needed the support of the masses, they were also concerned lest the poorer peasantry should lay hands on their own lands. Their weak ties with the masses were the main reason why at decisive moments like in 1820, 1821 and 1830 the revolutionary Carbonari were not able to win the effective support of the people.

Revolution in Naples and Piedmont. The third decade of the 19th century began with an increase in the revolutionary movement throughout Europe—from Spain and Portugal to Russia. The revolution in Spain was followed by an uprising in Southern Italy, in the small town of Nola. On July 2, 1820 an insurgent regiment together with its Carbonari officers marched out of the town amid shouts of “Long Live the Constitution!”. On their route they were joined by many peasants and townsfolk.

Within a week this revolution had swept triumphantly through the continental part of the Kingdom of Naples. To the sounds of the Carbonari anthem a Constitution, modelled on the 1812 Spanish Constitution, was proclaimed everywhere. King Ferdinand was forced to give his approval. Meanwhile power in the country was concentrated in the hands of the moderates who were trying to limit the revolution to the narrowest framework and weaken the influence of

the Carbonari, who themselves were split by internal contradictions between moderates and democrats. The latter were out to overthrow the king and proclaim a republic, but being in the minority, they were unable to have any substantial effect on the course of the revolutionary events.

Meanwhile the revolution was threatened by Austrian intervention, but the rulers in Naples were too lax in their preparations for defence. In February 1821 the Austrians invaded and caught the Neapolitan army unprepared. The organization of defence was also hampered by the ever growing indifference of the people to the fate of the revolution, which in turn also affected the soldiers in the Neapolitan army. The latter was disorganized and morale was low. Soon mass desertion began. On March 7 the Neapolitans were beaten in a battle fought at Rieti and on March 23 the Austrians entered the capital. The restoration of the power of the Bourbons was accompanied by brutal reprisals against those who had taken part in the revolution, particularly the Carbonari.

Immediately after the events in Naples a revolutionary movement began in Northern Italy—in the central part of the Kingdom of Sardinia, Piedmont. The main demand of the Neapolitans had been for a Constitution, while anti-Austrian slogans had been of secondary importance; but here, near the Austrian possessions, the demand was for national independence. On the night of March 9-10 an uprising broke out in the town of Alessandria. It was led by the Carbonari, who were also officers in the Piedmont army. A Constitution was proclaimed after the Spanish model and a provisional government set up in Turin. The insurrectionists hoped to form a confederation of states of Northern Italy that was to be independent of Austria and which besides the Kingdom of Sardinia would include the province of Lombardy-Venice.

The revolution in Piedmont was more like a military coup. The people took almost no part in it. But as in Naples, the leaders in Turin failed to organize the country's defence against inevitable intervention by the Austrians. They were not even able to win the whole of the army on their side. Part of the army remained loyal to King Victor Emmanuel I and joined the Austrians in inflicting a defeat on the constitutional forces at Novara. On April 10 without a shot being fired they entered Turin and on the next day took Alessandria.

The 1836 Revolution in Central Italy. Despite brutal persecution following the revolutions of 1820 and 1821, the officially disbanded Carbonari society soon began to show signs of revival and plan a new revolution. But this time it was the Carbonari in Central Italy that were the more active. Influenced by the July revolution in France in 1830, uprisings broke out in February 1831 in the duchies of Modena and Parma and in the Papal States. At first they won victory after victory and the rulers of the duchies were forced to leave their capitals. The Pope's representative abandoned Bologna. But very soon the movement in Central Italy revealed the same weaknesses as the revolutions of 1820 and 1821. Little was done in the interests of the people and there was almost complete lack of coordination between the revolutionary forces in the various states. In late February 1831 Austrian forces intervened and easily put down the weak resistance of the insurrectionists.

The Young Italy. Giuseppe Mazzini. The defeat of the Carbonari in Central Italy showed that the movement was not up to the new conditions of fighting. It had been made painfully obvious that a liberation movement within the confines of an individual state, isolated from the opposition forces in the other states, was doomed to failure. This was well understood by Giuseppe Mazzini, a young lawyer and philologist from Genoa, who was soon to become the leader of the all-Italian movement. In early 1831 he was exiled from Italy for being a member of a Carbonari society. He went to Marseilles, where he formed a united all-Italian revolutionary organization which he called *La Giovine Italia* – The Young Italy. The main aim of this organization was a united Italy, without which Mazzini believed it would be impossible to unite the Italians into a nation and free the country from Austrian oppression. Mazzini imagined the future homeland as an independent republic with established political freedoms, civic equality and universal suffrage.

This programme could only be achieved, so Mazzini and his followers believed, through a revolution which would be carried out “with the people and for the people”. But his attitude to the people showed a clear contradiction. On the one hand, there was the desire to rely on the people as the main force in the struggle to unite the country, but on the other,

the equally strong desire that a national liberation struggle should not develop into a class war waged by the poor. Mazzini recognized the need to materially interest the masses, but included only very insignificant measures of this kind in his programme. He declined to consider the possibility of restructuring social relations in the countryside in the interests of the peasantry and did not consider that the agrarian question was central to the problems of an Italian revolution. Almost all the measures Mazzini proposed in the interests of the people were simply aimed at alleviating the position of the town dwellers. It was on the townsmen, not the peasantry that Mazzini relied not only in the 1830s, but also subsequently.

Mazzini's selfless, boundless devotion to the cause of unifying and liberating Italy, his passionate enthusiasm and his skill as a propagandist helped the influence of the Young Italy to spread rapidly throughout the country. Mazzini and his followers addressed themselves to the leaders of the local cells to prepare for an all-Italian revolution. But frequent abortive attempts to organize uprisings in 1833 and 1834 together with a number of unsuccessful revolutionary actions in Italy in the early 1840s convinced Mazzini and other Italian democrats that a revolution was not feasible in the foreseeable future.

The failure of the democrats was to a large extent due to the fact that in the mid-thirties and particularly in the forties it was the moderate-liberal current that predominated in the national liberation movement. Realizing the need for national independence and unity, the moderate liberals unanimously rejected revolutionary methods of struggle. The only possible way for Italy, they believed, was through changes and reforms made from above.

The Beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The liberals' programme gave great importance to economic transformations. At the time Italy was still a backward agrarian country. But during the 1820s and particularly the 1830s certain parts of the country, notably Northern Italy, began to develop socially and economically. This resulted in a spreading of capitalist relations. Alongside the traditional peasant sharecroppers on the plains of Lombardy and Piedmont there now appeared large-scale farms, frequently run along capitalist

lines. The workforce was composed of day-labourers among whom a stratum of permanent agricultural workers began to form. Trading in agricultural products now became common. But the lot of the peasants and the day-labourers in Northern Italy differed little from that of the peasants in the South: they were just as poor, hungry, sick and ignorant.

Agricultural development ensured the growth of industry in the North, where silk, wool and cotton were the most important products. Although fragmented manufacturing was predominant, a few centralized enterprises were beginning to appear, technical improvements were continually being made and here and there embryonic machinery was being produced. Thus the 1830s and 1840s saw the first steps towards an industrial revolution in Italy.

Artisans and workers in small workshops accounted for most of the urban population. But this industrial proletariat, who came from the impoverished peasantry was still very small in numbers. Life for all workers in the towns was very hard, the working day being 16-17 hours and living standards very low. Child labour was employed extensively. In certain parts of Lombardy 50 per cent of the children worked in industry.

But economic development in Central and Southern Italy was far more backward than in the North. Here, agricultural progress was more retarded by feudal vestiges. The predominant system of sharecropping resulted in extremely backward farming methods and consequently stagnation in agricultural production. But at the same time capitalism in these parts of Italy continued to make slow headway, though industry remained basically on the level of the cottage industry.

The Disposition of Forces. A Revolutionary Situation Matures. The need for breaking the chains of backwardness and fragmentation, which prevented rapid economic development in Italy, was clearly felt by the more far-sighted moderate liberals, many of whom were themselves landowners and entrepreneurs. Thus Count Camillo Benzo di Cavour, later to be the leader of the Italian liberals and head of the first all-Italian government, practised on his estate in Piedmont during the thirties and forties more advanced farming methods and was able to organize a multi-sectoral economy which

included trading in rice and fine-fleeced sheep. He was an indefatigable propagandist of the principle of free trade, which in the fragmented Italy of the time meant doing away with customs barriers between states. Like other liberals, Cavour was in favour of the introduction of a unified system of weights and measures and a single currency. Great attention was paid by the Italian liberals to the question of building railways. These eventually appeared in the late 1830s and Cavour had been an active investor in their construction.

By the mid-1840s even many members of the Italian ruling classes under the influence of the national patriotic movement had begun to realize the need for change. In the summer of 1846 Pope Pius IX ascended the papal throne. The crisis in his domains caused the continual uprisings throughout the 1830s and 1840s and forced him to undertake reform. The proclamation of an amnesty for political prisoners and a certain liberalization of the censorship sent the liberal bourgeoisie throughout Italy into raptures. Under their pressure a number of liberal changes were made in Tuscany and Sardinia in 1847.

Discontent increased in Austria's Italian possessions. The government answered these anti-Austrian feelings with increased police terror. In Naples King Ferdinand II refused to take account of the mood of the times and rejected any kind of reform. By late 1847 the mass movement in Italy was beginning to go beyond the bounds of peaceful, legal struggle, as the liberals wanted. This to a large degree was the result of a considerable worsening of the condition of the workers, for poor harvests had led to rises in the price of food, and the consequent flood of peasants into the towns had brought unemployment and epidemics. A wave of hunger riots hit the country, the harbingers of revolution.

The 1848-1849 Revolution. The revolution began on January 12, 1848 with an uprising in Palermo, the capital of Sicily. It marked the second stage in Italian reunification. This uprising was the first spark of the revolution that subsequently engulfed the whole of Europe. It was followed by revolution in France and then by popular uprisings in many of the other European countries. In Southern Italy the flame of revolution soon swept through the whole of Sicily and then through the continental part of the Kingdom of Naples. The

Bourbon army was powerless in the face of these revolutionary forces demanding a Constitution. Ferdinand II was forced to concede. On September 29 a decree was published on the "granting" of a Constitution modelled on the French 1830 Constitution. The events in Southern Italy led to a wave of vast meetings and demonstrations throughout the peninsula. There were demands for political freedoms, constitutions and a declaration of war on Austria. Alarmed at the scale of the movement, all the Italian monarchs proclaimed constitutions in February and March 1848, and everywhere moderate liberals entered the government.

News of the uprising in Vienna and the proclamation of a Constitution there aroused great enthusiasm in Venice and Milan, where popular demonstrations broke out in mid-March. Venice was proclaimed a republic. The people of Milan fought courageously for five days with the Austrian forces and managed to drive them out from the city. The rest of Italy, shocked into action by the heroic struggle of the Milanese, demanded that war be declared on Austria. And the rulers of the Italian states were unable to refuse.

The first to declare war on March 24 was the Kingdom of Sardinia, but it was soon joined by other states. The Italian forces were led by King Charles Albert of Sardinia, but his aim was to annex Lombardy to his own possessions and he did little to unleash a genuine war of liberation. Such a war might have led to the proclamation of a republic in Milan and threaten his throne in Piedmont. Similar fears affected the rulers of the other Italian states. Therefore Italian military action was badly coordinated, tardy and irresolute with the result that though it suffered initial defeats the Austrian army was able to go on to the offensive. In June they took almost the whole province of Venice which had been liberated by the Italians. By early August they had control of Milan and soon afterwards a peace treaty was concluded.

But in the autumn of 1848 a new revolutionary upsurge began. News of the fall of Milan caused a popular uprising in Livorno, the capital of Tuscany. The liberal government was overthrown and the democrats came to power. In Rome demonstration after demonstration was held against the Pope. On November 16, 1848 these developed into a full-scale uprising and a week later the Pope, dressed in peasant's garb, fled the capital. Democrats now began to gather

at Rome from all over Italy. In February 1849 the Papal States were renamed the Roman Republic. In March Giuseppe Mazzini arrived and immediately started working to expand the framework of the revolution, to call a Constituent Assembly in Rome and to strengthen the republic.

The counterrevolutionary plots of the clergy and the threat of foreign intervention—both Austrian and French—meant that the leaders of the Roman Republic had to take emergency measures. On March 29 a triumvirate was formed to organize defence, but Mazzini became its virtual head and ruler of Rome. The army was headed by his comrade, Giuseppe Garibaldi, a remarkable revolutionary and a passionate fighter for Italian independence. For his patriotism in 1834 he had been sentenced to death, but had fled to Latin America and had spent almost fifteen years there fighting for the independence of Rio Grande and Uruguay. He only returned to his homeland in 1848. But despite the heroic efforts of this “genius for guerilla warfare”, as Nehru described Garibaldi, and the work of Mazzini and other leaders, the Roman Republic fell to superior forces. On July 3 the French army entered Rome. Soon after that the Austrians crushed the last pocket of revolution in Italy—the Republic of Venice.

And so the revolution of 1848-1849 in Italy was defeated by the forces of European reaction. The course of the revolution had revealed its internal weaknesses, which were also characteristic of other previous revolutions—the lack of co-ordination between its forces and failure on the part of the leadership to bring about radical change in the interests of the masses. Although the scale of the mass struggle in the 1848-1849 revolution was incomparably greater than in the revolutions of the 1820s and 1830s, ultimately the masses were not yet a firm support for the movement, a fact which subsequently led to the collapse of revolutionary hopes.

Chapter XVI

SPAIN IN THE 19th CENTURY

Spain and Napoleon. The coming to power of General Napoleon Bonaparte in France through a coup d'état on 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799) was welcomed by the Spanish ruling classes. At first relations between Napoleon and Charles IV were good. They exchanged expensive presents and trade increased. Napoleon made his brother French ambassador in Madrid and he put pressure on Charles to concede to France the Duchy of Parma in Italy and Louisiana in America. In 1802 Spain joined in Napoleon's war against Portugal, which resulted in a serious economic and financial crisis. But Napoleon, who was waging one aggressive war after another, still demanded permanent help from his Spanish ally. In October 1805 almost the whole Spanish navy was destroyed at Cape Trafalgar by the English under Admiral Nelson. Charles IV and his ministers tried to convince Napoleon that Spain was no longer able to carry on fighting, but the French emperor only threatened to occupy Spain and depose the king.

And this was not an empty threat. In October 1807 French troops landed in Spain under the pretext of a new war against Portugal. The latter was rapidly defeated, but the French troops did not leave Spain. Furthermore, Napoleon refused to answer all Charles' enquiries as to the reasons for their extended stay. There were rumours that the French ambassador was having secret talks with Charles' heir, Prince Ferdinand, and inciting him to oppose his parents and the omnipotent minister, Manuel de Godoy, and seize the throne.

In fear for their lives the king, the queen and their favourite, Godoy, decided to flee from Spain to the American

colonies, and leave their people to the mercy of fate. But they were unable to keep these plans secret. On the night of March 19, 1808 there was an uprising in the royal residence of Aranjuez. The crowd smashed Godoy's palace and forced Charles IV to abdicate in favour of Ferdinand, who was proclaimed King Ferdinand VII.

But this replacement did not suit Napoleon. He refused to recognize Ferdinand as King of Spain and decided to get rid of the Bourbons once and for all. Using various pretexts he managed to entice Charles, his wife, Maria Luisa, Ferdinand and other members of the royal family to the town of Bayonne in France. Only Charles' youngest son, the infant Francisco, remained in Spain, but Napoleon ordered him to be brought to Bayonne too.

The Popular Insurrection of May 2, 1808 and the Beginning of the War Against France. On the morning of May 2 a huge crowd gathered at the entrance to the royal palace from which the French wanted to take the boy, Francisco. The French soldiers opened fire on the rioting crowd which was joined by soldiers and officers of the Spanish army. Heroic Spanish officers like Jacinto Ruiz and Pedro Velarde fought against the far more numerous and better trained French garrison, commanded by Marshal Murat. The uprising was brutally crushed and all those who were caught were shot. The child Francisco was sent to Bayonne.

Napoleon did not attach much importance to the Madrid uprising. He went to Bayonne and had no difficulty in forcing the pitiful and cowardly Bourbons to sign an act handing over the rights to the Spanish throne to the Emperor Napoleon. Then he made his brother Joseph King of Spain "by God's will". The members of the former Spanish royal family were sent to hinterland France as "honoured captives". Napoleon then gathered together members of the highest Spanish classes in Bayonne and dictated to them a Constitution, which proclaimed Spain a constitutional monarchy with a parliament, half the deputies to which were chosen by the king and half by the rich electors. Customs posts on the borders between France and Spain were removed and Spain was obliged to maintain a military alliance with France.

This Constitution, which was Spain's first, was in fact a step forward in comparison with the former absolutist mon-

archy, but the Spanish people did not want to receive it from the hands of foreign invaders. The whole country now rose in the wake of the people of Madrid to fight for independence. People's militia units were formed everywhere, French soldiers were killed and *juntas* came into being which tried to introduce new revolutionary systems. The people showed genuine heroism in fighting a much more powerful opponent.

The French suffered one defeat after another. The people of Saragossa and Gerona distinguished themselves particularly in the first stage of the war. They withstood two sieges each and fought bitterly in the streets for each house. Resolute resistance of this kind Napoleon had not yet met in any other country.

The French suffered a serious defeat in the south at Bailen, where 20,000 soldiers surrendered. But the war of independence which lasted several years did not result in complete victory for the Spanish, since the difference in the arms and military training of the soldiers of both armies was very great. But Napoleon's setbacks in Spain were a foretaste of his defeat in Russia.

During the first year of the war for independence the Spanish forces were uncoordinated, fighting in the individual provinces without central leadership or command. Only in September 1808 did members of the various local *juntas* meet and form a central junta. This was largely made up of members of the nobility whose aim was to stop the war against the French developing into a revolution against the former Spanish system. But instead of tackling important matters the central junta wasted valuable time ensuring its members privileges. It was decided, for example, that it should be called "Its Highness the Central Junta". It imposed strict censorship and abolished the progressive decrees of the provincial *juntas* that were directed against the feudal system. In some cases revolutionary *juntas* were disbanded.

Meanwhile Napoleon, extremely displeased at his generals for the serious defeats they had suffered in Spain, decided to take charge of military operations there himself. In early December he marched on Madrid at the head of his crack units and demanded immediate capitulation. The inhabitants of the capital refused, but the city authorities, taking no notice of the will of their citizens, opened the gates.

Once inside Madrid, Napoleon issued decrees abolishing the Inquisition, closing most of the monasteries and doing away with a number of feudal tithes and institutions. He finally left Spain completely sure that that country had been subdued for ever. But the struggle continued. When the better armed and trained French troops succeeded in smashing the regular Spanish army, there then began a heroic partisan war, known as *la guerrilla* or irregular warfare. Virtually the whole population of the country—men, women and even children—fought against their hated oppressors. They used every imaginable weapon—knives, daggers, kitchen utensils as well as firearms. The French could move only in large groups—lone soldiers in the towns or on the roads were certain to be killed. They were given no rest by day or night. Communications between Paris and the French garrisons were continually being disrupted and although there were 300,000 French soldiers in Spain, they were unable to deal with the resistance of a whole nation.

There were many heroes of this guerrilla. Men like the peasant Juan Martin Diaz, known by his *nom de guerre* "Em-pesinado" (the Inflexible), the uncle and nephew of the same name Francisco Mina, and Julian Sanchez, all were remarkable for their fearlessness, courage and hatred of the enemy. Their names alone brought terror to the French.

The First Bourgeois Revolution and the Cortes. As the war of independence continued in Spain, the country underwent its first bourgeois revolution. An elected parliament, known as the Cortes, sat in the town of Cadiz which was free from foreign occupation. This parliament drew up a Constitution which declared the people to be the supreme authority in the country. The Cortes was elected by men of 25 and over and the government was responsible to it. The king could not dissolve the Cortes at his will, and his authority was precisely defined.

The Cortes passed a number of progressive laws: they abolished the Inquisition and the Church tithes from the peasants, handed over the lands that had belonged to the king and his kinsmen to those who had fought in the war of independence and to the landless peasants, and put an end to the slave trade. The Cadiz Constitution and the Cortes were highly progressive for their time and for many years re-

maintained the banner and the ideal for bourgeois revolutionaries both in Spain and in other countries.

When in 1812 Napoleon began to implement his reckless expedition against Russia, he was forced to withdraw some of his troops from Spain. A treaty of friendship and alliance was signed between Russia and Spain and Alexander I recognized the Cadiz Constitution. Spain was also given military aid by England. But after the defeat of his armies in Russia, Napoleon realized the impossibility of continuing the war in Spain and the French pulled out completely. After six years in captivity Ferdinand VII returned to his country and on May 4, 1814 published a manifesto which declared the 1812 Constitution to be a brainchild of the French revolution and of anarchy and terror, and which dissolved the Cortes. On the basis of this manifesto all decrees of the Cortes were annulled "as if they had never been published". Thus the war of independence ended in victory and the revolution in defeat. The absolute power of the king was restored. Napoleon recognized that after Russia Spain was the most important reason for his downfall.

The Period of Reaction, 1814-1820. Ferdinand VII was a vicious, vengeful, mendacious and mean man. Once at the head of his country again, he tried to turn the clock of history back. The Inquisition was brought back, as were feudal privileges. He rapaciously plundered the treasury. He brought back the Jesuits, banned public meetings and celebrations and then spent his own time wallowing in orgies. Those who had taken part in the revolution were brutally persecuted. But the supporters of the Constitution were not broken and continued their struggle. Not a year passed without antigovernment demonstrations by the liberal bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the students, now formed in secret societies.

The main force of resistance to the absolute monarchy were the progressively-minded army officers. The men who had fought in the war of independence were behind almost all the revolutionary demonstrations. Many were caught and executed, but that only hardened the will of the enemies of absolutism to fight on.

The Revolution of 1820-1823. During the war of independence in the American colonies the emancipation move-

ment began in Spain. Having decided to send a punitive expedition to America, Ferdinand VII assembled a 30,000-strong army in the region of Seville and Cadiz, but amongst this army were men who were plotting for the overthrow of absolutism.

On January 1, 1820 a certain Lieutenant-Colonel Rafael del Riego y Nunez stood before his battalion and proclaimed the 1812 Constitution. The soldiers supported him and a revolutionary army was formed, which called upon all the people to demand the restoration of the Cadiz Constitution. The movement swept through the north of the country and soon Catalonia, Aragon and Galicia fell to the revolutionaries. The insurrectionists were joined by the people of Madrid including the Madrid garrison. In March Ferdinand VII was forced to sign a decree restoring the Constitution and swear allegiance to it. All those who had fought in the war against absolutism were granted an amnesty, the Inquisition tribunals were disbanded and the Cortes convened once again.

Thus began the second revolution. The country was now divided into two camps—the revolutionaries, consisting of the liberal nobility, most of the young officers, the peasants, the intelligentsia, the artisans and the workers; and the counterrevolutionaries, which included the king, the court, the landowners, the higher clergy, the generals, the civil servants and a section of the backward peasants in the north and west of the country. In the publically elected Cortes the revolutionaries had the majority. Three parties in all were represented at this parliament. They were known as the “serviles” (the enemies of the revolution, who grovelled before the king), the “moderates” and the “hotheads”. Most seats belonged to the “moderates” who believed that the proclamation of the Constitution was the end of the revolution and were against any further social change of the kind wanted by the “hotheads” led by Riego.

But the petty reforms undertaken by the “moderates” were not enough to satisfy the people. A wave of peasant uprisings spread through the country. New organizations and currents appeared among the radical revolutionaries like the *comuneros*, who defended the interests of the lower sections of society—the artisans and the workers, and the *discamisados* or the “shirtless”, who fought insistently and consistently

for continuing the revolution through to its end. At elections to the Cortes in 1821 the majority went to the "hotheads", and not one big landowner or member of the clergy was elected. Reluctant to accept this the king and his supporters attempted a counterrevolutionary coup, but it failed.

Once in power, the government of the "hotheads" made a number of progressive changes, but decided not to give the landowners' land to the peasants. Ferdinand VII made a secret request to the rulers of the Holy Alliance countries to send troops to Spain and get him back his absolute power. The Congress of the Holy Alliance which met in 1822 in Verona authorized France to intervene and in April 1823 an army of one hundred thousand men invaded Spain.

The country was not ready to resist and the French army rapidly moved south. The Cortes and the government, taking the king with them, fled to Cadiz, which was besieged by the French forces. The king made a written pledge to maintain the Constitution and not persecute those who had taken part in the revolution. He was then handed over to the besiegers. The Cortes dissolved themselves and the government was retired.

But the lying and double-dealing Ferdinand immediately went back on his pledge and published a manifesto annulling all laws and decrees passed from March 7, 1820 to October 1, 1823. The patriots tried to launch a guerrilla war, but they had not the strength. The leader of the revolution, Rafael Riego, was betrayed by a traitor and brought in an iron cage to Madrid, where he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered. Although the second Spanish revolution ended in defeat it aroused great response and sympathy throughout Europe, and it influenced the uprisings in the Italian states and in Portugal.

The "Black Decade" and the Third Revolution. Once more a reactionary and brutal regime of absolute power was established in Spain. There were mass executions of the revolutionaries. The landowners were given back all their feudal rights and the clergy the control of the schools. The liberals tried again and again to rally people under the banner of the 1812 Constitution, but each time they suffered failure and defeat.

But the absolutist regime of Ferdinand VII was not only detested by the liberals and the revolutionaries. Within its

own ranks an opposition party formed, which was known as *El Partido Apostolico*, the Apostolic party, and which was headed by Don Carlos, the king's brother. His supporters, known as Carlists and consisting of fanatical monks, rich landowners and army generals, believed that even the ultra-reactionary Ferdinand was too much of a liberal. They could not forgive him for agreeing to the restoration of the Constitution in 1820 and so they plotted against him in the expectation that since he had no heirs, the throne after his death would pass to Don Carlos.

But in 1830 Ferdinand's fourth wife Maria Cristina gave birth to a daughter, Isabella. Ferdinand immediately abolished the law according to which the Spanish throne could only be passed through the male line and declared that Isabella was the heir to the throne. But the Carlists would not accept her and when Ferdinand died they made Maria Cristina regent until Isabella should come of age and then began a civil war, which became known as the Carlist War and lasted seven years (1833-1840).

Spain was once again split in two. The extreme reactionaries united under the Carlists, who also received the support of the feudal states—Prussia, Austria and Russia. For this reason the followers of Maria Cristina, known as the *Cristinos*, were forced to turn for support to the liberals, the democratic part of the urban population and the more progressive officers. Externally they relied on an alliance with England, France and Portugal. Since the leading role among the Carlists was played by the clerics, a movement began against the Church accusing the monks and the priests of poisoning the wells. A new, third revolution began, which lasted from 1834 to 1843.

In reply to demands to restore the Cadiz Constitution, Maria Cristina in a bid to halt the revolution proclaimed a different, pitiful version of it, called the Royal Statute, but the "hotheads", who now called themselves "progressives", rejected this sop. Revolutionary juntas were once again formed in the provinces and mass demonstrations were held. The regent was forced to make Juan Alvarez Mendizabal, the leader of the progressives and a former colleague of Riego, head of government. He made a number of important reforms, chief among which was the confiscation of monastery lands and their resale to the rich peasants. But Maria

Cristina considered Mendizabal too revolutionary and retired him. This resulted in a new explosion of popular anger, so that the government was forced, albeit for a short time, to proclaim the 1812 Constitution. In 1837 this was replaced by another that more resembled the Royal Statute.

The Carlist War dragged on. Baldomero Espartero, who commanded the army of the Cristinos, was a capable soldier and inflicted a number of defeats on the Carlists forcing them to enter into peace talks. In 1839 the commanders of both armies, Generals Espartero and Maroto, met in the town of Vergara and embraced in front of their ranks of troops (this episode is known in Spanish history as the "Vergara Embrace") and concluded a peace. The Carlists pledged themselves to cease resistance and the government promised them an amnesty, the appointment of their leaders to government posts and the preservation of the ancient rights (*fueros*) for the Basque country and the province of Navarra, both the Carlists' main strongholds. Thus ended the first Carlist War, but the claimant, Don Carlos, and his descendants did not renounce hope of gaining the Spanish throne. For many decades this remained an unsolved problem.

Maria Cristina was extremely unpopular. The whole country demanded her abdication and in 1840 she was forced to emigrate. General Espartero became regent, but he was unable to achieve reconciliation either.

It was at this time that the industrial revolution began in Spain and factories began to be built, particularly in Catalonia. When Espartero signed an agreement with England opening the Spanish market for English textiles that were in competition with Spanish textiles, there was an uprising in Barcelona. This was put down by Espartero with the aid of heavy artillery, an action which undermined his authority and set the army against him. There began a series of military uprisings, known in Spain as *Pronunciamiento*. Troops of the reactionary general, Ramon Maria Narvaez, entered the capital and set up a dictatorship in 1843. To combat the revolutionaries Narvaez formed a special corps of gendarmes, known as the *guardia civil*, which still exists today. The third revolution suffered the fate of the previous two.

The Fourth Revolution (1854-1856). At the age of thirteen Isabella was deemed to have come of age and was crowned Queen Isabella II. She was a despotic, ignorant and depraved woman, who had no other thought but her own desires. The Cortes were not convened and the Constitution was not observed. The state of the treasury was so low that in 1854 the head of government and lover of the queen, San Luis, issued a decree compelling the population to pay their taxes six months in advance. Such a thing had never occurred before. Everyone, even the courtiers, were indignant. The generals tried to take over power, but the palace coup failed and they had to turn for support to the people. Once again, for the umpteenth time, the country was in revolt. Provincial juntas and national militia were formed and barricades went up in the streets of the main cities. For the first time there were public cries for the monarchy to be replaced by a republic. Returning from exile General Espartero once again became very popular. Isabella was forced to make him head of government. He passed a number of progressive decrees, did away with Church ownership of the land, but declined to solve what was for the peasantry, who constituted the majority of the population, the main problem—breaking up the landed estates and giving the land to those who tilled it. The discontent of the peasantry led to Espartero's second fall, and although the workers in fear of a restoration of the old order rose up in Madrid and other major towns in defence of Espartero, he declined to fight. Left without leadership the workers were beaten in July 1856. The fourth revolution in Spain was the first in which the working class took active part, but the workers had neither organization nor experience.

The Economic Development of the Country. The Workers' Movement. By the mid-19th century Spanish industry had begun to develop much quicker than it had done previously. Most dynamic were the textiles, leather and food industries. Railways, roads and canals began to be built and foreign trade increased. So also did the size of the working class. By the mid-19th century there were some 250,000 industrial and 2.5 million agricultural workers. Life for these people was very hard. The working day was from 14 to 16 hours and pay

was much lower than in the more developed countries. The factory owners made wide use of female and child labour which was mercilessly exploited. The workers began forming their own organizations, the first of which was the Society of Weavers in Barcelona in 1840. Then a Workers' Union was formed, the first proper trade union in Spain. Its members participated actively in the Catalan uprising of 1842 and held the first strikes. It was at this time that the ideas of the utopian socialists began to infiltrate the country.

After the formation of the International Working Men's Association, known as the First International, its representative came to Spain to set up sections of the International there, which in 1870 united into a federation.

After putting down the revolution Queen Isabella once more handed over power to General Narvaez, who in subsequent years alternated at the helm of state with the more liberal General O'Donnell. But the scandalous way of life of the queen and the policies pursued by the various governments which were against the interests of the people were bringing another revolution nearer. Professor Emilio Castelar of Madrid University accused Isabella of illegally expropriating money accrued from the sale of lands that belonged to the nation. Castelar was immediately dismissed, but the students held mass protest demonstrations. The government ordered the demonstrators to be shot. Narvaez closed down the university, dissolved the Cortes and the political parties and made numerous arrests. The result was another revolutionary situation.

The Fifth Revolution and the First Republic. The fifth revolution in Spain during the 19th century began at the naval base of Cadiz. The troops who had been sent to put down the insurgents went over to their side and in autumn 1868 Isabella fled to France. A struggle immediately occurred in the Cortes over the future state system in the country—should Spain be a monarchy or a republic. At first it was the monarchists who were victorious and they invited the son of the Italian King Amadeus of Savoy to take the throne. His reign (1871-1873) turned out to be extremely troublesome. Three assassination attempts were made on him, three times he dissolved the Cortes and seven times the government was changed. Knowing neither the Spanish language nor Spanish

customs, he was highly unpopular. The Carlists, unwilling to be subjects of a foreigner, demanded that the grandson of Don Carlos be made king. Threatened with another Carlist War, Amadeus could do nothing but abdicate. Once again the throne became vacant. The people of Madrid surrounded the building of the Cortes and insistently demanded that Spain be declared a republic. A left-wing republican, Francisco Pi-y-Margall, was elected president and he put forward a very progressive programme for social change which included doing away with the landed estates, separating the Church from the state, providing free education and social insurance for the workers and giving the republic a federal structure.

But some of the republicans wanted individual provinces to be made self-governing cantons and organized a series of "cantonal uprisings". Unwilling to take reprisals against these "misled workers", Pi-y-Margall resigned. From that moment the revolution went downhill. The cantonal uprisings were crushed, while amongst the republicans themselves disputes broke out. Taking advantage of this, the monarchist generals seized power and in December 1874 proclaimed Isabella's son King Alfonso XII of Spain. Thus the monarchy was restored. Despite its initially bright prospects, the first republic was no more than a momentary episode. Power was now in the hands of the landowners and the bourgeoisie, and the objectives which those five revolutions had tried to achieve remained unattained.

Chapter XVII

PORTUGAL FROM 1600 TO 1860

Portugal Under Foreign Domination. From 1581 to 1640 the Portuguese were under Spanish rule. They fought in the innumerable wars which Spain waged and lost a number of colonies, since Spain paid with them for its defeats. The people of Portugal lived in poverty and in various regions anti-Spanish revolts periodically broke out. In 1640 these developed into a general revolt and Portugal gained independence. The Duke of Braganza was made king with the name of Juan IV.

Fearing new aggression on the part of Spain, Juan IV signed a treaty of friendship with England. According to the terms of this treaty Portugal joined the anti-French coalition during the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1703 a treaty of "eternal alliance" was signed between England and Portugal, whereby the English offered military aid to defend Portugal and its colonies in exchange for the right to keep English ships permanently based in Portuguese ports, and export English goods duty free in exchange for Portuguese wine. Thus Portugal traded Spanish rule for British. Portuguese industry was choked by English competition and the country went through a chronic economic crisis, but the king and his court continued to live extravagantly thanks to the gold and precious stones, which were brought from the rich colony of Brazil.

From 1751 to 1777 Portugal was under the rule of the all-powerful prime-minister, the Marquis de Pombal. He strengthened the central power, dealt with the feudal aristocrats who were trying to get independence from the centre, restricted the influence of the Church and drove out the Jesuits. Under Pombal, who pursued a policy of enlightened

absolutism, industrial development was encouraged and the army and the navy were modernized. Pombal dealt resolutely and quite often physically with his opponents. Therefore after the death of King Jose I, who had protected him, Pombal's opponents succeeded in getting him tried. He was sentenced to exile and his reforms were abolished.

During the years of the French revolution Portugal was compelled by England to take part in all of the anti-French coalitions. But when Napoleon came to power, he declared war on Portugal in 1801 and forced Spain to do the same. The Portuguese put up no resistance and fell under French control, but England soon won back its positions, and Anglo-French rivalry for the control of Portugal worsened.

For Napoleon Portugal was of paramount importance, since England brought its goods through that country into continental Europe, thereby making the "continental blockade" imposed by the emperor ineffective. For this reason he delivered Portugal an ultimatum in 1807 that the Portuguese should declare war on England, arrest all Englishmen in the country and hand over to France all English ships in Portuguese ports. But Portugal could not do this. The French under General Junot then invaded Portugal and moved rapidly forward. The day before they arrived at Lisbon members of the royal family and several thousand courtiers seized the country's gold reserves and sailed for Brazil. Napoleon deposed the Braganza dynasty and put the country under Junot. But under the influence of the uprising against the French on May 2, 1808 in Madrid, there was an insurrection a month later in Portugal. The insurgents turned to England for help and shortly afterwards 20,000 English troops under General Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington) landed in Portugal. The English operations were successful and by early 1811 the French had been driven out of Portugal. Thus once again one foreign occupation had been replaced by another.

The almost permanent occupation had a serious effect on Portugal. Agriculture, industry, handicrafts and foreign trade all went into decline. The lands belonging to the royal family and the landowners who fled with them (they did not return to Portugal) were left untended. And England helped to maintain this economic backwardness by importing all that

was valuable from Portugal and continually increasing its dependence.

The Bourgeois Revolution of 1820-1823. Many young officers, indignant at their country's humiliating dependence on England, formed secret societies and prepared for a national uprising. But these societies had no links with the masses and their leaders were in favour of employing conspiratorial tactics. They were therefore doomed.

The second revolution in Spain served as a stimulus to the national liberation movement in Portugal. In August 1820 the garrison at Porto mutinied and this was followed by an uprising in Lisbon. The government was deposed and power went to a newly formed revolutionary junta. The Constituent Cortes was elected which drew up a Constitution after the model of the Cadiz Constitution. Portugal was declared a constitutional monarchy. Legislative power passed to a one-chamber parliament elected by universal secret suffrage. The privileges of the landowners and the clergy were abolished and the Church lands were put up for sale.

After the adoption of the Constitution King Juan VI returned to Portugal and swore an oath to abide by it. In parliament there were two parties struggling for supremacy—the constitutionalists and the absolutists. The latter did not want a Constitution and demanded the restoration of absolutism. The putting down of the Spanish revolution by French interventionists and the execution of Rafael Riego served to inspire the Portuguese absolutists. In spring 1823 they began a civil war with the aim of making Juan VI's son, Miguel, king. The war which lasted 11 years became known as the Miguelite War and was completely analogous to the Carlist wars in Spain—a war between those who wanted feudalism (the Miguelites) and those who wanted a bourgeois system (the constitutionalists). The war was fought with varying success for both sides, but ended in victory for the constitutionalists, though that victory was far from being complete. In the first place they had to turn for help to foreign powers like England and France and secondly it was the conservative elements in the constitutional camp who came out on top. They believed that the 1822 Constitution was too radical and refused to restore it. In its place a new Constitution was approved, which gave the vote only to very rich persons. Politi-

cal struggle within the constitutional camp therefore continued. Some progressive reforms were made like the abolition of some of the landowners' privileges and the closing of many of the monasteries.

Brazil's declaration of independence was a severe blow to the Portuguese ruling classes, since it deprived them of the source of their wealth. In September 1836 there was an uprising of the Lisbon garrison and it received the support of the left constitutionalists who became known as the Septembrists. A new revolution took place and the leader of the Septembrists, Pasos da Silva, came to power. He satisfied the main demand of the people and restored the 1822 Constitution. But this liberal era did not last long. In July 1837 his cabinet fell and the liberal Constitution was replaced by a new one. The right constitutionalists, known as the Chartists, organized a military coup in 1842 and their leader, Antonio Costa Cabral, ruled the country four years as dictator.

In 1846 Cabral's hated dictatorship resulted in a peasant uprising led by Maria da Fonte. It began in the north and soon spread throughout the country. The peasants seized the landed estates and formed revolutionary juntas. The uprising was eventually put down with foreign aid but Costa Cabral was forced to resign. To quieten the masses the new government passed a number of liberal reforms.

Portugal in the Mid-19th Century. In the mid-19th century Portugal was still a backward agrarian country. Of the 4.7 million inhabitants of the country only some 70,000 were workers. In the countryside the landed estates accounted for the largest amount of land. The development of national industry and the building of railways proceeded at a very slow rate. The people were poverty-stricken and had no means of paying their taxes. The government took more and more loans from England and the national debt reached enormous proportions. The unemployed emigrated to Brazil and the United States.

After the overthrow of the Cabral dictatorship the grandson of the Marquis de Pombal, Joao Carlos Saldanha, who was leader of the constitutionalists and who had defeated the Miguelites, became head of state. His liberal reforms included, among other things, the formation of a Regeneration Party out of the right Septembrists and the left Chartists and

adoption of a number of constitutional amendments, which expanded the rights of the local organs of power and lowered the property qualification for voters. Subsequently, as in Spain, a two-party system was established in Portugal. The Regeneration Party adopted a more conservative character, while a Liberal Party of progressives was formed from its left wing. But there were no fundamental differences between them — both rested on the support of the landowners and on English capital.

Chapter XVIII

ENGLAND FROM 1800 TO 1860

The Completion of the Industrial Revolution and Its Social Consequences. The 19th century brought “Perfidious Albion” new fame. The country became known as the “workshop of the world” in tribute to its industrial and financial might, which no other nation at the time could equal. Throughout the world people watched with interest and alarm how the “machine civilization” was developing in Britain.

In summer 1815 a race was held in London between a horse-drawn carriage and a steam engine. This unusual event proclaimed the fact that technical inventions had become part of everyday life. They now gave unlimited scope to man’s abilities and unlimited power over nature. They brought great benefits, but caused equally great misfortunes and forced upon society a new way of life. These technical discoveries captured the imagination of many and promised huge profits—a boy working a machine could produce as much yarn in a day as twenty adult craftsmen.

The reason why the industrial revolution began in England was primarily that the feudal system which put curbs on the development of enterprise had long ceased to exist there. England had one other advantage—the Channel which separated her from the continent and ensured her tranquillity. The long wars of the 19th century had impoverished the trade and industry of many of the European states, but enriched Britain, which gained from foreign loans and even more so from the absence of equal competitors. For a period of time it had almost the whole European market at its disposal and at the same time the incentive and the means to develop its own industry. In 1825 Britain already had some 15,000 steam engines, while France, its oldest rival, had only 328.

Machines made it possible to produce more goods more cheaply. But equally important, they were at the same time consumers, for they needed steel, coal, specially equipped buildings and good roads, etc. Though they appeared first in the textile industry, they soon spread to other industries thereby bringing them into the industrial revolution.

Having got ahead of its rivals at the beginning of the industrial revolution, Britain had become by the middle of the 19th century quite beyond their reach. Half of the world's steel, 77 per cent of its coal, 70 per cent of its mechanical axles and 60 per cent of its ships came from Britain. No other country had such a network of railways. Nowhere else was there such a variety of machines and equipment in everyday use. The process of making technical developments and improvements was rapid and impossible to stop and it influenced all aspects of the life of society. The "Second Industrial Revolution", as it has often been called, which began in the 1860s, saw not only the appearance of fundamentally new mechanisms and technology like the internal combustion engine and electricity but also important changes in the social, economic and political system of Great Britain.

Thus by the mid-19th century "Merry Old England", a country of hard-working farmers and artisans, had disappeared almost entirely. Rural England had already begun to be neglected in the previous century, when landowners all over the country started getting rid of their peasants as wool ousted grain as the most profitable product. Ploughed fields became pastures and the farmers who were left without work became the unemployed. The industrial revolution depopulated the villages even more. New agricultural machines like the steam-driven plough and the threshing machine made the number of farm hands required even fewer. The demand for day-labourers fell, while the rural weavers, potters and saddlers could not hope to compete against the factories. The villages died, but they gave life to the industrial cities, which took all those who had been driven out from their old homes and their old way of life.

London with its population of 3 million*, Manchester and Liverpool had seemingly overstepped the sensible bounds

* In 1866 this was 12 per cent of the population of Great Britain. More than half the population of the country were by this time living in towns.

and become vast megapolises. Nearby fields, forests and villages now began to be buried under the winding streets and ugly buildings of the rapidly expanding towns. Those who had insufficient means—and they were the majority—were forced to live in dirty, stinking hovels. It was not until 1848, and then only after considerable struggle, that a law was passed recommending, but not ordering, houseowners to keep their homes clean. The towns of the industrial revolution were intended for machines, not people. Machines were housed in the best buildings, provided with the best roads and given water and heating.

And the machines in their turn brought enormous profits. But the English were the first to find out that excessive wealth could harm the country. In 1815 when peace came at last to Europe, the continental markets were so saturated with English goods, that further production could only lead to losses. Factories were shut down. The big entrepreneurs suffered badly, the smaller ones went bankrupt, the workers were on the poverty line. This first “overproduction” crisis was followed by others and became the chronic ailment of the factory system.

England flourished, but at the same time poverty was rife. The national income rose from £230 million in 1800 to £814 million in 1867, but half of this belonged to a mere three per cent of the population. But the reason for alarm was not so much the boundless enrichment of the few as the catastrophic poverty facing the many and threatening, as some people believed, the very foundations of the state. The “labour-saving” machines, as they were often called, turned out to be “labour-stealing” machines for the workers. A machine that could do the work of ten men brought considerable benefits to its owner, but not to those who lost their daily bread. And these were becoming more and more. Britain, as one writer of the time put it, was split into two mutually hostile nations—the rich and the poor.

It was not that no care whatsoever was taken of the paupers. To be sure, the propertied classes did pay a “poor tax”, a kind of enforced exaction of alms by the local authorities. But poverty grew faster than revenue from the tax, increasing from year to year. Nor did the “workhouses” do much to help. The system in these institutions, which were known as the “Bastilles of the poor”, was no less harsh than

in the prisons. The rich state did nothing, nor was it especially willing to, to alleviate the lot of its people who thanks to the industrial revolution had been brought to a condition of hopeless poverty. One of the reasons for this was that poverty provided the factory owners with an enormous workforce that was ready to undertake any work on any conditions to avoid dying of hunger. Poverty, like machines, was the *sine qua non* of the factory system.

By the mid-19th century two-thirds of the population had no other means of existence than their labour. But few managed to find a permanent job. And even those who got work were far from being well-off. Payment was minimal, the working day was long—from 14 to 16 hours—and work was stupefying, turning the worker into nothing more than an appendage to a machine. The factory system deprived a man not only of any satisfaction with his job, but even of any hope for anything better. Only a few decades previously an apprentice who learnt the secrets of his craft could in time hope to start his own business. Now only one in thousands might by some miracle acquire money, buy his own factory and become an owner. The rest were fated all their lives to be hired workers, dependent on the will of their employers.

The Workers' Movement. The Trade Unions. The continuous threat of unemployment and poverty, the hopelessness and the exhausting work at the factories, which was justifiably compared to that in the prisons, encouraged the workers to believe in the need to struggle for their right to live a life that was worthy of man. In the 1820s numerous societies and unions of workers began to form all over Britain. In no other country was there so powerful and influential a movement of workers as there was in Britain. The Factory Acts, which limited the arbitrariness of the employers, were adopted only due to the insistence of the workers. Every concession—whether the banning of child labour or the reduction of the working day—took years and sometimes decades to win. For example, in the 1830s the workers' organizations began to demand that education be made accessible for all, not just the propertied classes. And whereas during those years the government spent plenty of money on the building up of a very impressive and expensive police force, Britain, the richest country in the world, spent much less on schools than, for in-

stance, little Switzerland. It was only in 1870 that universal primary education was introduced in Britain.

But however important the education reforms might be, the workers, artisans and petty traders, in a word all those who were known as the lower classes, thirsted after profound change, which would free them from the disastrous consequences of the industrial revolution. Their strivings gave birth to many social reform projects, particularly those of Robert Owen, who called for the complete restructuring of society on the basis of communist principles. Despite the utopian nature of many of his plans, his ideas spread rapidly throughout England, particularly among the workers. Owenism gave birth to the cooperative movement, which during the second half of the 19th century became one of the most remarkable phenomena in the country's social life. Owen participated directly in the formation of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union in 1834 and although it was unsuccessful, this first experience nevertheless made an important mark in the history of British trade unionism. During the second half of the 19th century trade unionism made great strides forward. It became a powerful movement which no subsequent government could afford to ignore. In 1871 a bill was passed giving a sufficiently liberal basis for the work of the trade unions.

Chartism. The People's Charter. One of the things that many of the workers were striving for in a bid to improve their lot was universal suffrage, since then the people could pass laws that suited them. This demand was the most important point in the People's Charter (1838), the programme document of the Chartist movement, which was the largest and arguably the most important social movement in Britain in the 1830s and 1840s. Although the Chartists were unable to get the full implementation of their programme, their struggle forced the ruling classes to make partial concessions to the lower classes.

The social composition of this movement was fairly varied. It included the petty bourgeoisie, artisans, workers and bourgeois radicals. As a result of the economic crisis and the revolutionary events on the continent in 1847 and 1848, the Chartist movement became widespread, but after 1848 it

went into decline and by the late 1850s it had disappeared completely.

But it was not only the lower sections that wanted parliament to make reforms. The first decades of the 19th century saw the unprecedented growth of the economic might of the industrial bourgeoisie, i.e., entrepreneurs who owed their wealth to the factory system. They controlled the economy and finances, but had no political power. The parliament, and consequently the legislative powers were still in the hands of the big landowners. In the early 1820s a total of 487 seats in parliament were virtually the property of 267 aristocratic families, who enjoyed unlimited influence in their own constituencies. Moreover some constituencies numbered at the most only a few hundred voters, but these "rotten boroughs" had their own members of parliament, whereas London and the industrial towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire had no parliamentary representatives.

The first Parliamentary Reform Act was adopted in 1832 at the insistence of the bourgeoisie, and due to the stubborn struggle waged on their behalf by the people, who incidentally got nothing. As a result 56 of the rotten boroughs were done away with, while the industrial towns were given 65 seats. The number of voters, however, did not grow by much, since the high property qualification was retained. It was lowered only after the second reform of 1867. But even then only a third of the population was given the vote (women were not included). The freedom and democracy of which Britain boasted were in fact available only to a small handful of its people.

The governmental changes reflected the changes that had taken place in the economy. Two parliamentary reforms had forced the landlords to share power with the industrial bourgeoisie, a class which had been born of the industrial revolution.

The interests of these two ruling classes were far from identical. The differences between them were reflected in the struggle waged by the two parties that were dominant in the country's political scene. The Tories, or Conservatives, were the party of the aristocracy and the hierarchy of the Anglican Church. They supported traditional methods of rule, leaving the final word to the big landlords. They were opposed by the Whigs (subsequently known as the Liberals), who ex-

pressed the interests of the industrialists, the men of commerce and those who wanted moderate reforms. After the 1867 reform the Whigs and the Tories were both forced to form more stable party organizations without which an election campaign under the new conditions would have been difficult to run. Thus appeared the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations and the National Liberal Federation. But party membership was frequently a conventional concept. Even prominent politicians, who held high posts in the state, would transfer allegiance from one party to another if this was to their advantage. Nor was their conduct so unprincipled as it might seem, for the principles of both parties were essentially similar. A sensible policy was that which promised both the industrialists and the landowners the greatest profits. And this was particularly evident in Britain's foreign policy.

Foreign Policy. Britain emerged from the Napoleonic Wars in the early 19th century not just as one of the victors, but as the power which got the most benefit from the victory. The bloody battles and destruction had not affected her territory. After the defeat of the French fleet the British navy became the ruler of the waves. By loaning gold and selling weapons, Britain amassed enough wealth to give it a special position in the world. By interfering in relations between other countries, England successfully achieved its main objective—more and more markets for its industrial goods, for without these its economic position would be short-lived.

The trade relations which England concluded from 1830 to 1860 with Iran, Turkey, China, Egypt, Sudan and other countries gave unimpeded access to its goods. Obviously this was harmful to the artisans and entrepreneurs of these countries, but English gunboats were always there to convince other peoples of the need to sign disadvantageous agreements with the “workshop of the world”.

In the early part of the 19th century England ousted the Portuguese and the French from India and expanded its own possessions there. In the 1840s it forcibly seized the province of Natal in Southern Africa. Vast territories like Australia, New Zealand, Burma and Nepal became part of the emerging British Empire. Force, bribery and intrigue—all permissible and impermissible methods were used, should

anyone get in the way of the British rulers. However, the economic might of the country inspired belief in its superiority over all other nations. In 1849 England repealed the law banning foreign ships from trading with its colonies, for the British entrepreneurs no longer feared competition as there were no competitors left. Or, to be more precise, it seemed there were none.

The fact is that the foundation on which Britain's economic supremacy was built was being eroded gradually. And paradoxical as it may seem, it was precisely its own industrial power that did that. Having become the "workshop of the world" with almost a monopoly over the supply of industrial goods, the British factory owners obtained huge profits and saw no need to spend money on renewing technology or employing new technological processes. They were content to use their old machines, since these had already provided considerable income. But other countries, above all Germany and the United States, did not stay still. They could only win markets off Britain if they could produce more cheaply and better, hence they set great store by new technological ideas and inventions. These countries were preparing for a leap forward. But in the second half of the 19th century Britain was still unsurpassable in industrial might. The country flourished reaping the wealth that had been created by the industrial revolution, the poverty of its people and the enslavement of the colonies.

Chapter XIX

THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM

As capitalism gradually established itself, the colonial system emerged and developed to eventually become the colonial empire.

Even while capitalism was still in its embryonic stage in Europe, the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires appeared. The development of commodity-money relations meant that by the 15th century Europe was experiencing an acute shortage of precious metals, in particular it thirsted for gold. And in their thirst for gold the Spanish and Portuguese looked far and wide. It was for this reason that the first colonial seizures were made in America, Africa and Asia. By the first half of the 16th century the Portuguese had established themselves in a number of coastal areas in India.

But in the backward feudal countries which Spain and Portugal were at the time the enormous wealth brought in from the colonies went to the king, the Church and the nobility. It was not invested as capital. The benefits of Spanish and Portuguese colonialization were ultimately reaped by the Dutch and English bourgeoisie, who got rich on selling goods to Spain, Portugal and their colonies. This aided the development of capitalism in Holland and England and impeded it in Spain and Portugal. It was precisely for this reason that the foundation of the colonial system, which benefitted the bourgeoisie, was laid by the first two countries. Africa, Asia and America became the objects of Dutch and English colonial expansion.

The Dutch Colonial Empire. Holland was the first country to begin colonial expansion, and there were important reasons for this. After the world's first victorious bourgeois rev-

olution (1566-1609), the capitalist system was established in Holland. Relying on the economic power of the country and the might of its navy, which after the destruction of the Spanish "Invincible Armada" in 1588, dominated the seas, the Dutch bourgeoisie began to seize lands in various parts of the world.

In 1595 Holland began its colonial expansion in Indonesia. In 1600 they took the Portuguese Island of Mauritius. The Dutch East India Company, which was formed in 1602, was particularly active in colonial expansion. In 1619 it took Jakarta, which it renamed Batavia and which became the centre of the Dutch colonial empire in the East. During the first two decades of the 17th century Holland gained several footholds on the eastern coast of Hindostan and in Siam. Holland also ousted the Portuguese from Japan and took over trade with that country. After a long struggle with the Portuguese (from 1638 to 1658), the Dutch established themselves in Ceylon.

In 1641 the East India Company took Malacca, which had previously been Portuguese and was an important strategic point. This ensured its control over trade with Indonesia and penetration into China and Japan. The Dutch also established several strongholds in Southern Africa and replaced the Portuguese in countries of the Indian Ocean.

Dutch colonial expansion also spread to the New World, where the Dutch West India Company (formed in 1621) founded the colony of New Holland with its town of New Amsterdam.

The first half of the 17th century was the period of Dutch colonial hegemony. The Dutch were the number one traders, seamen and shipbuilders. By the middle of that century the Dutch navy had approximately ten times as many ships as the English navy. Johan de Witt (1625-1672), a prominent Dutch political figure and one of the first ideologists of colonialism, proclaimed at the time that the colonies, trade and industry were the trinity on which the might of Holland rested. Colonial exploitation became an integral part of the Dutch economy.

In the 17th century the Dutch colonizers stopped at nothing to establish their rule of the colonial peoples. One of the agents of the East India Company, Jan Pieterszon Coen, acted with such brutality that, in the words of one Dutch pro-

fessor, everyone including the heads of the company shuddered when they read the descriptions of executions, which Coen included in a matter-of-fact way in his letters.

The Early Period of the British Colonial Empire. England began its colonial expansion at approximately the same time as Holland. A major role in that country's struggle against the colonial empires of Portugal and Spain was played by the English pirates, who were supported by the government. Such famous "royal pirates" as Francis Drake and William Blake struck serious blows against the naval power of Spain and Portugal. They were virtually the first creators of the British colonial empire.

The British East India Company was formed in 1600. In 1609 it received by royal decree the monopoly right to trade in the Indian and Pacific oceans "in perpetuity". At first the Dutch and English East India companies fought together against the Portuguese in the East.

English settlements in North America appeared in the early 17th century, the first English colony, Virginia, being founded in 1607.

English penetration into Africa began in the last decade of the 16th century. The first English forts were built in Gambia to "service" the slave traders' ships.

In 1609 the English took the Bermuda Islands and soon afterwards they took a number of islands in the Caribbean Sea (Barbados and Antigua) and an area of land in Central America, which subsequently became known as British Honduras.

But even so, in the first half of the 17th century England lagged far behind Holland in terms of its colonial seizures. Large-scale colonial expansion of Britain began after the establishment of the capitalist system in the country. At this point the interests of the two countries clashed sharply.

One Anglo-Dutch war followed another. These were wars for colonial and trading hegemony. As a result of three such wars (1652-1654; 1665-1667; 1672-1674) the English won a resounding victory over Holland in America. In the war of 1665-1667 the English took important territories and settlements from the Dutch in North America, including New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York. England also entrenched itself in India.

It was in its struggle against Holland that England also clashed with another dangerous rival in the sphere of colonial expansion — absolutist France.

Anglo-French Colonial Rivalry in the 17th and 18th Centuries. In the time of de Richelieu and Colbert, who pursued a policy of mercantilism and who looked upon the colonies as an important source of enrichment, France began the colonization of America. By the mid-17th century the colony of New France had been founded on the St Lawrence River. From the very outset of French colonization there were clashes between the French and the English, which got particularly worse after the English had defeated the Dutch in North America and become the immediate neighbours of New France.

The English colonies in North America expanded rapidly. Their populations grew due to the permanent flood of emigrants from England. In France, on the other hand, where the rural population was chained by feudal serfdom, there was not enough surplus population for the French possessions in the New World and this weakened France's colonial presence in North America.

In 1664 the French East and West India companies were formed and in the latter part of the century the French East India Company took a number of places in India, including Chandernagore and Pondicherry. The French led a bitter struggle against the English for supremacy in the region.

The Anglo-French struggle for world colonial and trade hegemony was one of the constants in West European politics in the late 17th and 18th centuries and one of the most important causes of the wars between England and France during that period.

In 1701 the War of the Spanish Succession broke out and lasted until 1713. France exploited its dynastic connections to try to get control over the Spanish colonies. But England managed to prevent this. Furthermore that war resulted in England's seizure of Gibraltar and the French territories of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in North America. But neither the War of the Spanish Succession, nor the War of the Austrian Succession (1741-1748), during which England and France fought for supremacy in North America and India, could resolve the Anglo-French colonial contradictions.

During the first half of the 18th century France made great strides forward in colonizing India. The governor of the French possessions in India, Joseph François Dupleix, made skilful use of the differences between the Indian states and with an army of mercenary soldiers, known as *sipahi*, brought the powerful principalities of Hyderabad and Carnatic under the control of the French East India Company. The French were the first to show that it was possible to conquer India using the Indians themselves, but their success was not long-lasting. Being a backward feudal-absolutist monarchy, France was unable to provide the necessary support for the French colonizers. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) with England dealt a powerful blow to French positions. In June 1757 the forces of the British East India Company, amounting to 900 English and 2,000 sipahi, under the command of Robert Clive defeated at Plassey the 70,000-strong army of Siraj-u-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal, who was supported by the French. Apart from the military superiority of the well-trained and well-equipped English army (they had artillery), another important factor in the outcome of the battle was the desertion to the side of the English of the commanding officer of the Nawab's army, who had been bribed. The English lost only 72 men. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, "This was a small battle, as battles go, and indeed it had been practically won by Clive by his intrigues even before the fighting began. But the little battle of Plassey had big results. It decided the fate of Bengal, the British domination in India is often said to begin from Plassey."*

After the Seven Years' War France was only able to hang on to five towns on the Hindostan coast. In North America French Canada went over to England together with large territories between the Appalachians and the Mississippi.

During the last decades of the 18th century the British East India Company established through a number of wars domination over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Oudh and a large part of Southern India. Thus by the end of the century England had established its colonial supremacy over France.

* Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, Calcutta, 1964, p. 335.

Colonial Rivalry Between the Great Powers in 1775-1870.

The national liberation war of the English colonies in North America against the metropolis was the first serious blow to the British colonial empire (in 1775 England lost 13 of its North American colonies). But English capitalism, which was on the ascent, coped with this problem fairly easily.

England was able to subsequently expand her influence in various parts of the world. As a result of the long wars with France, which in 1815 lost most of her colonial possessions, Britain's colonial hegemony was stabilized.

By the end of the 18th century England had also undermined the colonial might of Holland. It wrested from the Dutch East India Company its strongholds on the east coast of India together with some lands in Sumatra. During the Napoleonic Wars the English also struck serious blows at Holland's colonial positions, since the latter was France's ally. In a series of wars England seized the Cape Colony in Southern Africa (1795-1806), Ceylon (1795-1796), Java (1811) and all the remaining Dutch possessions in Indonesia. Thus for a time practically the whole Dutch colonial empire was in English hands.

The largest colonial empire in terms of geographical area in the 18th century still belonged to Spain. In continental America Spanish possessions stretched from the Missouri River in the north to the Strait of Magellan in the south. In addition Spain also had Cuba, Puerto-Rico, the Philippines, numerous Oceanic Islands and some parts of Africa. But the weakness of the backward feudal system in the mother country meant that Spain's domination over her empire was extremely unstable. The long break in communications between the metropolis and the empire after Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808 undermined even more Spanish positions in its colonial possessions. A War of Independence began in Spanish America, which ended in 1826 with all the colonies except Cuba and Puerto-Rico becoming independent states.

The Portuguese colonial empire, like Portugal itself, came under English control from approximately the third quarter of the 17th century. The terms of the Lisbon Treaty and the Treaty of Methuen, which were signed between England and Portugal in 1703, obliged England to undertake the "defence" of Portugal and its possessions. For its part Eng-

land was given the right to trade with the Portuguese colonies. English control over Portugal and its colonies became even stronger after the Napoleonic Wars. By the mid-19th century the colonial might of Spain and Portugal had already been a thing of the past.

The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) affirmed England's colonial hegemony. Her seizure of Malta, the Cape Colony, Ceylon, Mauritius, Tobago and a number of other lands was officially recognized. Thus in the early 19th century England, the most advanced capitalist country in the world, was the largest colonial power. Victory over France – its main rival in the struggle for colonial domination – and the supremacy of the English navy at sea made it possible for England to accelerate its colonial expansion in all parts of the globe.

The first half of the 19th century saw the colonization of Australia and New Zealand and the beginning of the seizure of Southern Africa. The conquest of India was almost complete, and the first attempts were made to conquer Afghanistan. The English gained control of a large part of the Malay Peninsula and the Island of Singapore in 1819. Attempts were also made to take China, Japan and other eastern countries.

In 1839 England seized Aden, which was the beginning of its Middle Eastern Empire. The penetration of China was stepped up. As a result of the Anglo-Chinese War (1840-1842) and the Anglo-Franco-Chinese Wars of 1856-1860, known as the Opium Wars, England, France and the United States forced China to sign a number of unfair treaties and open a number of ports for foreign trade. During the war of 1840-1842 England took the Chinese Island of Hongkong.

By the mid-19th century capitalist Britain had the largest colonial empire – an area of more than 11 million square kilometres with a population in excess of 120 million. To govern this empire a special Office of Secretary of State for the Colonies was set up in 1854.

For fifteen years after the Napoleonic Wars France took no active part in colonization. But after the revolution of 1830 which finally established the bourgeoisie in power, it resumed its colonial seizures once again. Algeria was the first of such new colonies, but it took thirty years of bloodshed before the French colonizers could take the country. The

French stopped at nothing to crush the resistance of the Algerian people.

The mid-19th century saw the beginning of the French penetration of Tunisia and Morocco. By the 1860s France had through a bitter struggle with the African tribes expanded its possessions into West Africa.

At the end of the 1850s France began the colonial conquest in Indochina and by the early 1870s had gained virtual control of the whole of its southern part.

Oceania was also an important object of French colonial expansion. Between 1842 and 1847 the French took a number of the Polynesian Islands and in 1853 the large Island of New Caledonia.

In 1869 a French company completed the building of the Suez Canal in Egypt which provided a short route from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. The canal immediately became a key objective in the struggle of the European powers for the colonies. By the 1870s France had laid the foundations for a vast new colonial empire.

Holland remained a major colonial power despite the considerable weakening of its colonial might and the loss of a number of colonies. After the Congress of Vienna, Java and a number of possessions in Indonesia were returned to the Dutch.

The mid-19th century also saw the beginning of US expansion into Latin America, China, Japan and islands in the Pacific Ocean.

The Enslavement, Plundering and Physical Extermination of the Peoples of the Colonies. The colonial plunder was an integral part of the process of primary capital accumulation in England and other European countries. "The colonial system ripened, like a hot-house, trade and navigation. ...The treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement, and murder, floated back to the mother-country and were there turned into capital."* This thesis put forward by Karl Marx relates primarily to England.

The plundering of India was one of the most important factors contributing to the industrial revolution in England in

* Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1984, p. 705.

the 18th century. Thanks to the influx of valuable items from India large amounts of capital were accrued making conditions right for the extensive exploitation of the inventions of Hargreaves, Watt, Arkwright and others.

At the same time the English bourgeoisie gave birth to a number of "heroic" colonialists and plunderers. One such man was Robert Clive.

Born in 1725, he began his career in the British East India Company as a clerk and ended up as the governor of Bengal. Clive's advancement was due to his lack of scruple and his brutality. After the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal at Plassey, the capital of Bengal, Murshidabad, was plundered. Clive personally took from the Nawab's treasures valuables worth £200,000. As governor he permitted so much abuse and corruption, that even the British government was forced to prosecute him. His crimes were so grave that the court could not acquit him, despite the fact that he spent enormous amounts trying to bribe the judges. He eventually committed suicide in 1774.

Slave trade was a very important source of primary accumulation for European bourgeoisie. From the beginning of European slave trade in the mid-15th century to the mid-19th century Africa lost, according to different calculations, between 65 and 100 million people, including those who were shipped to America, those who were killed during the slave hunts and those who died in transport. The first European strongholds on the African coast were set up primarily to meet the needs of slave trade. The barbarity and brutality of the slave traders knew no bounds and trading in slaves at the time was a perfectly legal capitalist business.

During the first half of the 19th century both the form and the content of colonial exploitation changed. In 1833 the British government abolished slavery in the British colonies and what was for the time the huge compensation of £20 million was paid to the slave owners. This signified the final transition to capitalist forms of exploitation, which did not, however, mean that the colonialists did away with all the vestiges of the slave-owning, prefeudal and feudal relations that existed in the colonies. They established a regime of national and racial oppression in the colonies, which deprived the overwhelming majority of the population of elementary human rights.

The colonies became important sources of raw materials and markets for the goods produced in the mother countries. The whole economy of the colonies, particularly their agriculture, was forcibly adapted to meet the requirements of the capitalist metropolises. Thus in India and Ceylon the colonialists set up a network of plantations to satisfy the demand for jute, tea and cotton.

In those colonies which were seen as markets for industrial goods, the colonial powers used various means, including direct prohibitive legislation, to prevent the development of local industry.

The colonial regime hampered the economic, political, social and cultural development of those countries which came under the yoke of colonialism. In a number of cases, particularly in respect of the comparatively developed countries of the East, they were thrown back many years in their development. India might serve as an example. "India was in a transition stage. It was a manufacturing country, and a *bourgeois* class was being evolved in the towns. The owners of the factories were capitalists who supplied raw materials to the craftsmen. In the course of time this class would no doubt have grown powerful enough, as in Europe, to replace the feudal class. Just then the British intervened, with fatal results to India's industries."* The colonial regime on the whole held back the development of capitalist relations, which were more progressive than the feudal and prefeudal relations.

From 1780 to 1850 English exports to India increased from £386,000 to more than £8 million. From an exporter of cotton fabrics India was turned into an importer. The country became the most important market for the English textile industry, taking by the middle of the 19th century almost a quarter of English cotton exports. The impoverished Indian textile workers could not develop their industry, as this was intentionally obstructed by the colonialists.

English rule brought innumerable suffering and hardship to the peoples of India. One of its direct results was famine. In 1770 ten million people died of hunger in Bengal. According to official English statistics a million people died of

* Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p. 431.

hunger between 1800 and 1825, 400,000 between 1825 and 1850 and 5 million between 1850 and 1875.

Colonial domination was equally destructive for the peoples of the other colonies. But for all this colonialism had another side. It broke down the backward feudal and prefeudal economic and social structures and brought the colonies into the system of world capitalist relations.

The peoples of the colonies waged a bitter struggle against their enslavers. One of the first manifestations of this was the Java uprising which lasted from 1825 to 1833. It was led by Diponegoro, but was finally put down with great savagery. One of the main reasons for its defeat was the fact that the Dutch managed to cause splits in the ranks of the feudal chiefs who were leading the revolt.

The biggest action against the colonialists was the Indian uprising of 1857-1859. It threatened the English domination of India and was only put down with difficulty. But when it was, the colonialists took savage revenge. Thousands were shot, thousands more hanged on trees along the roadside. Many were tied to the muzzles of cannons and blown to pieces.

The anticolonial uprisings of the 19th century were unsuccessful. Neither the internal, nor the external conditions were right. The uprisings tended to be spontaneous and local. They were largely headed by feudal chiefs, who were susceptible to bribes from the colonialists. The main obstacle to the achievement of national independence was the strength of developing capitalism in the metropolises. But the anticolonial uprisings of the 19th century testified to the growth of the forces, which in another historical period would finally do away with the colonial system.

Chapter XX

THE SECOND EMPIRE IN FRANCE

The Reactionary Regime of the Second Empire. Louis Bonaparte took power as the result of a coup d'état in December 1851. On December 2, the anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I, Louis was proclaimed Emperor Napoleon III.* The second republic ended in the Second Empire. From the residence of the president in the Palace of Saint-Cloud Napoleon III accompanied by a vast and gleaming retinue drove to Paris and proceeded to the residence of the French kings, the Tuileries Palace. The new emperor had the support of the rich bourgeoisie and the wealthy, and the bulk of small-holding peasants. He had to manoeuvre carefully between the various classes and groups of French society and he therefore promised that the Second Empire would be a peaceful empire. But all the eighteen years of the Second Empire were spent in warfare.

The system of government was designed to increase the importance of the emperor, who had all the real power, and nullify the role of the representative institutions. These latter consisted of three chambers: the Legislative Chamber, which had no right of legislative initiative; the Senate, appointed by the emperor from among the higher dignitaries and clergy; and the similarly appointed State Council, which drew up laws on the basis of drafts proposed by the emperor. The chambers were not entitled to make public the minutes of their meetings. The press was in the hands of the police, and from 1853 onwards was under the control of the Ministry of

* The Bonapartists considered the son of Napoleon and Maria-Louise, the Duc de Reichstadt, who died in his youth without reigning, as Napoleon II.

Internal Affairs. Censorship was strict. Newspapers were closed down for the slightest offence. All public education was under the supervision of the Catholic Church. The prisons were full to overflowing. The republicans, even the moderates, emigrated. All this drove the opponents of the Bonapartist regime to secret conspiracies and acts of terrorism. Several attempts were made on the life of Napoleon III.

The Completion of the Industrial Revolution. The industrial revolution in France was completed during the fifties and sixties, and capitalism developed apace. Machines were now used in all main branches of industry and as a result industrial production trebled. Production and capital were now concentrated. It was during this period that the major banks were founded. The Paris Stock Exchange became famous throughout the world. Railways were built.

The growth of capitalism in the countryside accelerated the stratification of the peasantry. Those with small holdings or parcels of land became impoverished.

In 1855 the World Exhibition opened in Paris. It paraded before the public the achievements of many countries, but particularly France. The government undertook the grandiose reconstruction of the capital, a project which at once reduced unemployment and beautified the city. Within the space of a few years the appearance of the French capital changed remarkably. From a medieval town surrounded by walls grew the new Paris. The old walls were demolished, broad highways were built, trees were planted in the streets and new railway stations were built. Other towns in France were also reconstructed. All this, particularly the industrial exhibition and the programme of urban reconstruction, had been designed to affirm the power of the Second Empire.

The Foreign Policy of the Second Empire. From 1853 to 1856 France fought in the Crimean War, which brought the country considerable losses, both human and material, and produced no real benefits.

In 1856 and 1857 there was a rapprochement between France and Russia. France was governed by the desire to get Russian aid against England, since Anglo-French rivalry in Europe and the colonies was at the time extremely acute. Relations between the two countries became even worse follow-

ing an attempt on the life of Napoleon III in early 1858, when it was discovered that the assassin, an Italian revolutionary named Felice Orsini, had arrived in Paris from London carrying a bomb of English manufacture.

After the Crimean War Napoleon III began to interfere in Italian affairs. At one time he was even nicknamed the “Carbonari”, since he agreed to help with the unification of Italy providing he retained for France Savoy and Nice. In the battles of Magenta (June 4, 1859) and Solferino (June 24, 1859) the allies were victorious over the Austrian army. But influenced by Empress Eugenie, Napoleon III proposed peace to Austria. On July 18, 1859 the French troops were withdrawn from the front. A French corps was then sent to Rome to defend the Pope and the papal province. Thus Napoleon deceived and betrayed his Italian allies. This adventurism in Italy on the part of the emperor was almost universally condemned in France.

And there was even greater condemnation of the treaty signed with England in 1860 on reducing import tariffs, since English goods were cheaper and often better than French.

French Colonial Expansion. The Second Empire pursued an active colonial policy in the Far East. A number of aggressive wars waged against China from 1857 to 1860 resulted in the latter being forced to sign a series of inequitable treaties. In 1858 France colonized part of Vietnam and in 1863 established a protectorate over neighbouring Cambodia. This was the beginning of the colonization of the whole of Indochina, which took 25 years.

But Napoleon III's venture in Mexico met with failure. In the early 1860s the national liberation movement against Spain in that country was expanding and in 1862 the Spanish were finally ousted. A corps of French troops, headed by the Archduke Maximilian, a relative of the emperor, was sent to Mexico, since the emperor thought that one corps would be enough to put down the liberation movement. The interventionists put the Austrian Archduke Maximilian on the throne of Mexico and kept him there totally by armed force. But in 1867 the US government categorically demanded the withdrawal of all French troops from Mexico. The “Emperor” Maximilian was overthrown by the Mexican republicans and shot. This expedition cost France dearly in every respect. It

gave rise to great indignation throughout France itself and dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of the Second Empire.

Foreign Policy Failures in the 1860s. By the latter part of the 1860s France had found herself in almost complete isolation. Napoleon III's refusal to carry out his obligations under the Franco-Russian treaty of 1859 and his attempt in 1863 to give diplomatic support to the Polish uprising set tsarist Russia against the French government. After 1867 relations with Prussia worsened considerably, since the forthcoming unification of Germany alarmed French ruling circles. Napoleon III's colonial ventures annoyed England, as did the opening in 1869 of the Suez Canal, which had been built despite opposition from England and which was held by the French. Napoleon III's policy in Italy, which impeded the unification of the country, set large sections of the Italian people against France.

Thus by the end of the 1860s France's relations with most of the European states had grown considerably worse.

The Mounting Internal Crisis of the Second Empire. The year 1866 saw the beginning of a new economic crisis in France. It was accompanied by a worsening of the internal situation and a strengthening of the workers' and democratic movements. Broad sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie no longer hid their discontent at the Bonapartist regime. The advanced bourgeois intelligentsia actively opposed the government and even some of the rich bourgeoisie declined to give it their support.

It was during the 1860s that the bourgeois democratic press began to thrive and grow in influence. In 1868 and 1869 the left republicans began publishing papers that were sharply critical of the domestic and foreign policies of the Second Empire. Such publications included the newspaper *Marseillaise* and the journal *La Lanterne*. The murder in January 1870 of Victor Noir, a young and little-known correspondent for the *Marseillaise*, who was stabbed by Pierre Bonaparte, the brother of the emperor, shook the whole of Paris, which came out to his funeral. This was an antigovernment demonstration that bordered on an uprising.

Proletarian actions (the strike in the Loire Valley and the strikes at the Creusot factories) at the time reached a

threatening scale. The government was forced to abolish the Le Chapelier Law, which had been in effect since 1791. In April 1870 a Federation of the Paris Sections of the International was formed.

In May 1870 a national referendum was held. This, as usual, took place under police supervision. Some seven million people voted for the government and three and a half million against. The internal and external position of the government of the Second Empire was almost catastrophic. Napoleon III and the rest of the ruling hierarchy believed that this situation could only be put right by a victorious war. It began on June 19, 1870.

Chapter XXI

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

The development of capitalism in the European countries during the 19th century put the bourgeoisie to the fore in economic and political life and encouraged its class and national consciousness. In those societies that had been liberated from the chains of feudalism national movements arose and developed rapidly. This resulted in the national consolidation of the European peoples and by the end of the 19th century bourgeois national states had been formed. Part of this process which affected the whole of Europe was the unification of Germany, which took place in the second half of the 19th century.

The main objective of the 1848-1849 revolution in Germany was the formation of a national state, but this objective was not achieved. But however much the rulers of the German states, particularly Prussia and Austria, wanted it, a return to the pre-revolutionary system was no longer possible.

The 1850s and 1860s saw the beginning of a powerful economic upsurge in Germany. It was then that the industrial revolution reached its zenith. In Prussia and Austria industry developed rapidly—machines were built, railways laid and international trade expanded. All this required capital investment and consequently the banks became increasingly important. They became the credit sources for industry. The industrial and financial bourgeoisie of Berlin, Cologne, the Ruhr, Saxony, Upper Silesia and the Saar now assumed dominant positions in the economy.

Important changes also took place in agriculture. In 1850 a law was passed in Prussia on relations between landlords and peasants. It freed the Prussian peasantry from feudal bondage. For their liberation they were re-

quired to pay redemption, but this stretched over a period of many years. Only in the case of a few unimportant feudal dues were they not required to pay compensation at all. Thus began the slow and agonizing transformation of a feudal economy into a capitalist economy. But even so the peasants were still economically dependent on their landlords, for they gradually became hired agricultural workers. The landlords in their turn, receiving the redemption payments from the peasants, built up and modernized their farms, particularly through the use of agricultural machinery. The rapidly growing towns required increasing amounts of food and grain prices correspondingly rose. This meant a rapid expansion of the internal market.

The German bourgeoisie, who were now coming to the fore, strove to do away with all obstacles in their path. First and foremost they wanted the country unified and not fragmented as it was into small states. They were particularly discontented at commercial and industrial legislation, about which Engels wrote: "Every few miles a different law governed bills of exchange, there were different trade conditions; everywhere, literally everywhere, there were all sorts of chicanery, bureaucratic and fiscal traps, and often also guild barriers against which even patents did not help! All-German civic rights and full freedom of movement for all citizens of the country, a single commercial and industrial legislation were no longer the patriotic fantasies of exalted students, they had now become a vital condition for industry."* But the main thing the bourgeoisie wanted was their country becoming a powerful state, capable of defending their own interests on the world markets.

All sections of society began to understand that national unification was essential. The German intelligentsia, aware of the community of German culture, wanted unification, since they saw that fragmentation was doing this culture great harm. The people understood the need for unity, particularly the working class. The workers' movement began to awake after a fifteen-year sleep. The German proletarians increasingly came to realize their own interests and wanted national

* Frederick Engels, "The Role of Force in History", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 379.

unity. Only a single state could give them freedom of movement, which was particularly important in a period of rapid industrial growth. More important, the workers' struggle for their rights had a much greater chance of success in a single state, where it could unify its uncoordinated forces.

The leaders of the revolutionary proletariat, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, participated directly in the revolutionary events of 1848-1849 in Germany, supporting the formation of a single German democratic republic. They believed that the decisive role in uniting the country should be played by the working class, which would push the bourgeoisie into deciding the national question by democratic means. This was to be a revolution from below.

The 1848-1849 revolution had not finished, when King Friedrich-Wilhelm IV of Prussia tried to reorganize the old German Confederation in such a way that Prussia would become the leader. But the Hapsburg monarchy in Austria had no intention of accepting this. With the support of Russia, which did not want to see the appearance of a dangerous rival in the form of a Prussia-led Germany, Austria opposed the idea. Relations between Austria and Prussia worsened. Decision of the national question in Germany now meant deciding which of these two powerful German states would be the leader. Whichever it was to be this could only happen as a result of a conflict with each other and also with the smaller principalities. This was the path of dynastic wars, class compromises and diplomatic intrigues.

The bourgeoisie, which on the eve of the 1848-1849 revolution supported the free union of German states and the establishment of a liberal system, became extremely alarmed at the revolutionary activity of the people in 1848-1849. The storming of the armoury by the proletariat of Berlin in June 1848, followed by the workers' uprising in Paris, filled them with fear. And the spectre of popular revolt never left them. In the struggle for liberal principles they preferred alliance with the nobility to alliance with the masses.

The German nobility were against national unification, since it would infringe upon their hereditary privileges and destroy the power of the princely dynasties. But its main force, the Prussian junkers, who were closely linked with the Prussian Hohenzollern dynasty, were forced to come to terms with the idea of unification under Prussian leadership.

In 1858 power in Prussia passed to Prince Wilhelm I of Prussia, the king's brother, as a result of Friedrich-Wilhelm IV's illness. Under public pressure the Prince-Regent was forced to replace the reactionary government of General Otto von Manteuffel by a more liberal cabinet. The liberal bourgeoisie of Northern and Central Germany hastened to form their own organization, the National Union, which decided to struggle for the unification of Germany without Austria. The people began to speak about the coming of a "new age".

But the liberal "new age" did not last long. In 1860 the Minister of War, Albrecht von Roon, proposed that the government carry out a reform of the army. It was proposed to increase the size of the regular army and establish a three-year period of military service. But for this money was necessary. The lower chamber of the Prussian Landtag refused to approve the budget proposed for carrying out these military reforms. The lower chamber of the Landtag was dissolved and new elections were held, but the new deputies continued to uphold their position over the question of the state budget. This gave rise to a constitutional conflict between the royalist-junker government and the bourgeois-liberal opposition in the Landtag. In 1862 the conflict became acute, since the bourgeois liberals gained wide public support. But the proletariat was too weak and the bourgeoisie was incapable of resolute struggle. The post of Prussian Minister-President was now taken by an experienced politician and diplomat, Otto von Bismarck.

By birth a Prussian junker, Bismarck possessed all the characteristics of that caste, including its hatred for democracy. It was this which distinguished him during the 1848-1849 revolution, when he had only just entered the political arena. Never tired of repeating that he was a Prussian first and a German after, Bismarck loyally served the Prussian throne and naturally supported the idea of Prussian domination in Germany. He was scornful of the bourgeoisie and its attempts to rebel, clearly seeing all its weaknesses. He possessed vast political and diplomatic experience and could accurately judge the internal and external situations. He understood that in a period of rapid industrial development the demands of the bourgeoisie for the formation of a unified national state could not be ignored. He also realized that the

balance of power in Europe was such that it was now possible to forget Austria's claims and unite all the German lands under Prussia.

Bismarck saw his main task to lie in achieving the national-state aims of the Prussian bourgeoisie so as in this way to win it over to his side.

But first he had to deal with the rebellious chamber of the Prussian Landtag. He explained his policy to the deputies, stating that it was futile to hope for a liberal policy. "Germany is not interested in Prussian liberalism, but in Prussian power. It is not speeches or decrees that will decide the great issues of our time—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—it's iron and blood."*

Openly violating the rights of the Landtag, Bismarck declared that he would decide financial matters without consulting the deputies. The military reform was carried out. Civil servants that were opposed to him were replaced with others that were more subservient. But there was no calm. In February 1863 when Prussia and Russia signed a joint convention on putting down the insurrection in Poland, there were riots in Berlin the following summer. The situation looked threatening.

Bismarck saw a way out in diplomacy and war, expecting that in this way he could guide the opposition towards accepting his solution of the national problem. The political situation abroad was favourable for this. Of course, the prospect of a unified German state in the centre of Europe was very alarming for the European powers. Austria and France were enemies of Prussia and they were to be fought against not only for hegemony in Germany, but essentially for hegemony in Europe. But England on the other hand saw a new Germany as a counterbalance to France, which claimed leadership over the other European countries. Tsarist Russia was also a potential ally, inasmuch as it had traditional links with Prussia in the struggle against revolution. Furthermore, Alexander II who was related to the Hohenzollerns hoped to get Prussian help in his Eastern affairs. The other European countries, divided from each other by their own disputes, could not form any serious anti-Prussian coalition.

* Otto von Bismarck, *Die grossen Reden*, Ulstein Sachbuch, Frankfurt/M-Berlin-Wien, 1984, S. 62-63.

In Germany itself it was necessary to overcome the resistance of the rulers of the small and medium states as well as the supporters of Austria and the particularists. In the southern German states of Bavaria and Württemberg anti-Prussian feeling was well entrenched, due in large part to the great influence of the Catholic Church and the consequent distrust felt by the people towards Protestant Prussia.

Bismarck's first step towards the unification of Germany was to declare war on Denmark for the purpose of getting back Schleswig and Holstein, the population of which was largely German. In this Austria, despite all the difficulties with Prussia, joined in as an ally. In February Austrian and Prussian troops entered the Danish possessions of Schleswig and Holstein. A few months later Denmark capitulated. According to the terms of the treaty, the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg were separated from Denmark and jointly ruled by Austria and Prussia. But in 1865 Prussia managed to get a convention signed, which considerably reduced Austria's rights in these lands. But such a situation could not last long. War between Prussia and Austria was in the offing.

Public opinion in the German states was against war. Those who attended the national assemblies in Prussia, Württemberg and Saxony protested against Prussia's provocative politics which could unleash a fratricidal civil war. A great role in this opposition was played by the leaders of the workers' movement, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel.

In 1863 Ferdinand Lassalle organized the General Association of German Workers, the first independent organization of workers. The leaders of the revolutionary German workers, Liebknecht and Bebel, advocated the revolutionary-democratic way of unifying the German states. Their speeches made virulent attacks on the policy of preparing for war, but demanded that if such a war should begin, then the people should be armed and the war should become a revolutionary war for a united Germany. In 1869 Bebel and Liebknecht founded the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Seeing that a real revolutionary alternative to solving the problem of unification had once more appeared in the country, Bismarck provoked a crisis in relations with Austria.

Several months later he stated: "If we are fated to have a revolution, it is better to bring it about, than to suffer it."*

In June 1866 Bismarck proposed the rulers of German states the draft of a new Constitution for a German Confederation without Austria. Then Prussian troops entered the territory of Holstein which was under Austrian government. On June 15 war broke out between Prussia and Austria, but it did not last long. On July 3 at a battle near the village of Sadowa Prussian troops won a resounding victory over the Austrians and advanced on Vienna. But with the mediation of Napoleon III of France a truce was signed and on August 23 a peace treaty. Its terms dictated that Austria should pay Prussia an indemnity and agree to Prussia's annexation of Schleswig and Holstein together with Hannover, Hessen, Nassau and the free town of Frankfurt-am-Main. As an ally of Prussia Italy was conceded Venice. Austria was not permitted to join the North German Confederation—a new union of German states under the leadership of Prussia. Engels wrote on November 18, 1884 in a letter to August Bebel: "1886 saw a complete revolution... Prussia fomented civil war and, with it, revolution. After its victory, it overthrew *three thrones by the grace of God* and annexed their territories, together with the once free city of Frankfurt. If that was not revolution, then I don't know what the word means." In this the first step on the road to revolution from above was completed.

The North German Confederation which was formed in 1867 under the leadership of Prussia consisted of twenty-three German states. Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and part of Hessen-Darmstadt remained outside the Confederation, but they were closely linked economically and militarily with Prussia. Prussia's supremacy was ensured by the fact that the Prussian king was the president of the Confederation and he had all executive power. The Federal Council was permanently chaired by the Federal Chancellor—a representative of the Prussian Council of Ministers—and in parliament the majority of seats were held by Prussians.

The military victories of 1866 brought Bismarck personal success and his prestige in ruling circles was strengthened.

* Otto von Bismarck, *Die gesammelten Werke*, Bd. 6, Berlin, 1929, S. 120.

His unshakeable will and determination to solve the national question also impressed the bourgeoisie and made it forget its previous dreams of liberalism. "Not only Austria had been beaten on the Bohemian battlefields," wrote Engels, "the German bourgeoisie had been beaten as well. Bismarck had shown it that he knew better what was good for it than it knew itself. The liberal pretensions of the bourgeoisie had been buried for a long time to come, but its national demands were receiving fuller satisfaction with every passing day."* Finally the bourgeoisie was given the real opportunity to realize its economic aspirations. The North German Confederation established a single citizenship and freedom of movement throughout all its lands, a single legislation in industry, commerce, communications and mintage, and a single system of weights and measures.

The question arises as to why in the long struggle for domination in Germany it was Prussia that was victorious and not Austria? The main reason was the former's economic superiority, gained by winning over the new industrial bourgeoisie. Even in the south where pro-Austrian feeling was high, many of the industrialists and the military sympathized with Prussia and supported its military and political intentions. Furthermore, the Prussian army with its modern equipment and organization was superior to the Austrian army, which was also due to the economic and financial strength of the state.

But the revolution from above was not accomplished yet. In the southern German states that remained outside the North German Confederation anti-Prussian forces were active. On the one hand, there was the workers' and democratic movement, on the other, the princes of the southern states, the nobility, the higher civil servants and the Catholic Church. Prussia also faced difficulties abroad. Relations with France were getting bad, since the latter had no desire to see a new Germany undermine its already weakening influence on the European continent.

But Bismarck had no intention of retreating. In 1870 he skilfully provoked Napoleon III into a war, which incidentally

* Frederick Engels, "The Role of Force in History", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 401.

the French emperor wanted himself. France declared war on Prussia on July 19, 1870. After a series of mishaps the French army finally suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Sedan on September 2. Patriotic fervour reigned throughout Germany. Prussia continued its advance and annexed Alsace and Lorraine. When on September 4 a revolution in Paris overthrew the emperor and proclaimed a republic, Bismarck began the struggle against the international revolutionary movement. He appealed to the governments of Russia and Austria to join together in opposing the international socialist movement. All this inevitably left its mark on the character of German national unification.

In November 1870 an agreement was made for the southern German states to join the North German Confederation and on January 18, 1871 Germany was proclaimed an empire with the Prussian King Wilhelm I as its emperor. This took place in Versailles at the centre of vanquished France, and this alone symbolized the aggressive and militarist character of the new German Empire. At the moment of its birth it was not only the occupier of foreign lands, but the destroyer of freedom. When on March 18, 1871 the red flag was raised by the Paris Commune, the Bismarck government supported the Versailles government of Louis Adolphe Thiers, the butcher of the Commune, in his fight to put down the Parisian insurgents. This action was approved by ruling circles in Germany. Only the German working class, which after the Battle of Sedan opposed the aggressive policy of its government, now organized a bold campaign in support of the Paris Commune.

The formation of the German Empire was an important event in the history of the German people. It put an end to a hundred years of territorial fragmentation and aided the rapid development of capitalism and the growth of the working class, which had become the advanced guard of the international revolutionary movement.

But the ways and means by which the national struggle of the German people was conducted resulted in the creation not of a democratic state based on the liquidation of the various dynasties and the establishment of the real sovereignty of the people, but of a semi-absolutist monarchy. This was irrefutably shown by the Constitution of the German Empire that was adopted in May 1871 to endorse the domination of

Prussia and the almost unlimited power of the German Chancellor, who was, of course, Bismarck. One of the foundations of the "Holy German Empire of the Prussian nation"*, as Engels called it, was the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. But this was something that France could not accept and the tense relations between the two countries formed a permanently smouldering hotbed of war in Europe. It gave rise to a universal arms race. Germany too put much emphasis on the arms build-up, and militarist influence on its policies grew. The Peace of Frankfurt which was signed between Germany and France in May 1871 brought neither peace nor confidence in the future to the peoples of Europe, but rather new alarms and fears of more military conflict. These were the most important consequences of Bismarck's unification of Germany.

Although the formation of the German national state was an objective historical necessity and the end of a long and just struggle by the people, the antidemocratic way in which the problem was solved determined the militarist character of the German Empire and its anti-people policy. Its formation was one of the most important factors leading 40 years later to the outbreak of the First World War of 1914-1918.

* F. Engels, "Supplement to the Preface of 1870 for *The Peasant War in Germany*", in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1988, p. 626.

Chapter XXII

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

The Years of Reaction. After the defeat of the 1848-1849 revolution reaction triumphed in the majority of European countries. Of all the states on the Italian Peninsula only the kingdom of Sardinia retained a bourgeois-constitutional system. The liberal forces not only of this state, but of the rest of Italy saw their ally in the Savoy dynasty, since it was concerned like them to do away with Austrian oppression and form a national state under the aegis of the dynasty. True, during the fifties the emphasis was not on unifying the whole of Italy but rather on expanding the Kingdom of Sardinia within the bounds of Northern Italy.

The intelligent and far-sighted head of the Piedmont government and the leader of the Italian liberals, Count Cavour, clearly understood that the achievement of this goal was impossible for Italy without the support of a foreign power. Such a power was France, which sought to weaken the Austrian Empire and strengthen her own positions in neighbouring Italy. It was precisely in the expectation of a rapprochement with France that on Cavour's initiative Sardinia took part in the Crimean War. In 1858 a secret pact was signed between Napoleon III and Cavour at Plombières-les-Bains against Austria. According to the terms of this agreement France would support Sardinia in a war with Austria, while the latter would receive the Italian territories of Savoy and Nice.

The end of the 1850s was a turning-point in the history of the Italian people. It saw the final stage of the Risorgimento which resulted in the formation of a united Italy. The continuation of state fragmentation and Austrian oppression were insurmountable obstacles in the path of economic pro-

gress and therefore the solution of the national question became the most important task facing the country.

In the movement for the renewal of Italy it was the democrats who were the genuinely national element. But after the revolution of 1848-1849 they had been divided by ideological differences and this had led to organizational splits. Some, whose views approximated to those of the utopian socialists, broke away from Mazzini. They wanted to draw the peasant masses into the struggle and insisted on the need to turn a national revolution into a social revolution. But for all intents and purposes the majority remained behind Mazzini. Their main demand was for national unification, but they wanted to achieve it through an immediate revolution regardless of the real situation. As a consequence of this disorganization some democrats went over to the liberal camp, for in the latter's hands, or rather in the hands of the Savoy dynasty and Cavour, there was real power. Such was the balance of forces in 1859, when war broke out between Austria and Piedmont supported by France.

The War with Austria. The Revolution in Central Italy. The great victories of the allies on the fields of Lombardy at Montebelluna, Magenta and Solferino, their entry into Milan and the astonishing feats of the volunteers under Garibaldi — all showed clearly enough that the outcome of the campaign was decided. All Europe watched the events in Italy, for at that time the Italian question was important to everyone. To be sure, on its solution largely depended the further development of international relations in Europe and the situation in France and a number of other countries, particularly German states. But the European reactionaries were extremely hostile to the idea of a united Italy. Even Cavour and Victor Emmanuel were looked upon as mutineers and revolutionaries, capable of upsetting the balance of power in the world. But the progressive forces in Europe warmly sympathized with the Italians.

At the end of April 1859, just after the war in Lombardy had begun, an uprising broke out in Tuscany, as a result of which the Grand Duke Leopold was overthrown. The successful action against Austria in the north of Italy and the events in Tuscany inspired the population of the duchies of Parma and Modena to overthrow their own absolutist

regimes, which were closely dependent upon Austria. Throughout May and June of the same year uprisings took place in a number of areas of the Papal States. And all these insurrectionist states declared it their intention to join the Kingdom of Sardinia. But the scale of this movement, which, contrary to French wishes, could lead to the formation of a large single state, seriously alarmed Napoleon III. He was particularly opposed to the unification appeal addressed by the people of Romagna, a province belonging to the Pope, to Victor Emmanuel, since it enjoyed particular support from France. Therefore on July 11 at Villafranca di Verona Napoleon III signed a treaty with Austria without bothering to inform the Italians of his intentions. Under this truce, which was later approved by the Zurich Peace Treaty of 1859, France received Lombardy, which it subsequently gave to Sardinia, while the province of Venetia was to remain in the Austrian Empire. The overthrown heads of the Central Italian states were to be returned and a confederation of Italian states was to be set up under the presidency of Pope Pius IX. Cavour promptly resigned in protest.

The new Sardinian government, which was completely impotent, took a long time to sanction the decisions of the provisional governments of the Central Italian states, which declared it their intention to join the Kingdom of Sardinia. It was not until March 1860, after Napoleon III had himself changed his mind on the question, that the Piedmont government, to which Cavour had returned as head in the previous January, decided to hold a plebiscite in Central Italy. As a result the duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Modena and part of Romagna voted for union with Piedmont. The question now was Southern Italy.

A New Rise of the National Liberation Movement. Garibaldi's March. The popular unrest in the Kingdom of Naples at the end of 1859 and the beginning of 1860 presaged a new revolutionary explosion. And the first hotbed of this revolution was Sicily. The whole island was in the hands of the peasants, when on May 11 Garibaldi landed at Marsala at the head of a force of 1,000 volunteers. This was the beginning of the legendary epic of the Thousand, which under the leadership of the democrats and with the help of a broad popular movement, culminated in the liberation of the Kingdom of

Naples from the power of the Bourbons. It was then that the Mazzinists, who wanted the unification of all national forces, refused their demand for an independent republic, supporting the slogan put forward by the Thousand: "Italy and Victor Emmanuel!".

The Piedmont government had, however, tried to prevent Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition, fearing both the wrath of the French emperor and mass revolutionary uprisings. But forced to look reality in the face—the unprecedented patriotic upsurge of the people and the enormous popularity enjoyed by Garibaldi personally—Cavour decided not to enter into conflict with him.

In Sicily most of the peasants joined Garibaldi, particularly after he published a decree promising every man who fought for him the right to his own land. A number of resounding victories were won over the King of Naples and by late May Garibaldi and his men had entered Palermo. A revolutionary government was formed headed by Garibaldi.

On August 17 Garibaldi, refusing to submit to the resolute objections of the king and Cavour, crossed to the mainland and marched on Naples. Popular revolution swept through Southern Italy and on its wave Garibaldi and his men won a victory at the Battle of Reggio-Calabria and on September 7 entered Naples. The Bourbon army collapsed and the soldiers went over to Garibaldi. The remnants of the Bourbon army were finally defeated on October 1 at Volturno.

The Unification of the Kingdom of Naples and Piedmont. Although Garibaldi's government in Naples passed a number of decrees which were in the interests of the people, the agrarian problem was not solved. As a result the democrats lost the support of the peasants and were thus unable to withstand the increasing pressure put on them by the moderate liberals, headed by Cavour. In an attempt to get their hands on the leadership of the movement, the Piedmont government did everything it could to hasten the unification of Sicily and Naples under the Savoy dynasty. It was supported in this by the terrified landowners and entrepreneurs of Southern Italy who were ready to pay any price to suppress the rebellious masses. Ruling circles in Piedmont also wanted to frustrate Garibaldi's plans to march on Rome, for that threatened a new complication in relations with France. Therefore,

in early September the Piedmont army crossed the borders of the Papal State and a month later entered the territory of what was formerly the Kingdom of Naples. Thus the outcome of the struggle was decided in favour of the liberals. After a plebiscite in which the majority voted for the unification of Southern Italy and Piedmont, Garibaldi handed over power to Victor Emmanuel.

The Piedmont government hastened to abolish all Garibaldi's decrees and disband his army. The democratic path for the unification of Italy was interrupted. In March 1861 the newly elected parliament proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy.

The Liberation of Venetia and Rome. At that time Venetia still remained under Austrian control, while Rome was in the hands of the Pope, supported by French bayonets. Fear at the new revolutionary outbreak and dependence on France drove the Italian government to check the initiative of the democrats who were trying to get Venetia and Rome liberated. In 1862 Garibaldi at the head of his volunteers moved against Rome, but at Mt Aspromonte they came under heavy fire from the government troops. Garibaldi himself was badly wounded and taken prisoner.

Venetia was not returned to Italy until 1866 during the Austro-Prussian war, when Italy was allied to Prussia. In 1867 Garibaldi made another attempt at liberating Rome, but his forces were beaten by the French at Mentana. It was not until 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war that Rome was finally united with Italy and became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy.

Thus by 1870 the process of unifying Italy had been completed. But it had been a long and tortuous process of moving from numerous defeats through the revolutions of 1799, of 1820-1821 and 1831, which had taken place in different Italian states, to the national revolution of 1848-1849 and the events of 1859-1860, when millions of Italians came on to the political arena. Italy was liberated and essentially united, as Engels noted, "not by Louis Napoleon's intrigues, but by the revolution",* i.e., from below.

* Frederick Engels, op. cit., p. 385.

But the Italian bourgeois-democratic revolution remained incomplete. The initiative was taken away from the democrats by the moderate liberals. As a result they got control of the dominant positions in the unified Italy, while in the economic and political structure of the country feudal vestiges remained to impede its rapid economic development and retain poverty and injustice for the people.

Chapter XXIII

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES

The North and the South in the Early 19th Century. In 1800 Thomas Jefferson was elected President of the United States. He was a Republican, or a member of the party that was opposed to the Federalists. His government undertook a number of progressive measures, in particular a partial agrarian reform, whereby the size of plots sold from government lands was reduced together with the price that now could be paid by instalments. The agrarian policy of the Republicans helped the farmers settle on land in the West. The victory of the Republican Party over the Federalists marked success for the forces that stood for the democratic development of the United States. In 1803 the US bought from Napoleonic France Louisiana with its important port of New Orleans. The acquisition of this enormous and sparsely populated area (the present-day State of Louisiana occupies only a small part of its original size) almost doubled the territory of the United States. The slave-owners at the time were continually in need of more and more land, since slave-labour was inefficient and the badly tilled soil was rapidly exhausted. Therefore the acquisition of Louisiana was important for the southern slave-owning states.

In the northern states slave-owning went into decline during the first decade after the War of Independence as it came into contradiction with expanding capitalist relations. Eventually, between 1815 and 1820 slavery was abolished in the North, as was bond-serfdom for the whites. In the North the hired-labour system triumphed completely.

In the South, on the other hand, the slave-owning system had from the 1790s been on a rapid rise due to Eli Whitney's invention of the "cotton gin", a simple machine which con-

siderably increased labour productivity. The rapidly growing English textile industry and the textile industry of the north-east United States guaranteed the planters an almost unlimited market. Cotton growing became the most profitable business. As a result it began to replace all other crops in the South and the demand for slave-labour went up.

Thus by the beginning of the 19th century the United States was divided into two parts. In one part capitalism based on hired-labour was developing rapidly, in the other slave-labour was predominant and it was used to supply the world capitalist industry. From this split in the country's development came the inevitable conflict, which fifty years later would become a civil war – the second American revolution. During those fifty years there were frequent major political crises, which usually ended in compromises. The increasingly powerful northern bourgeoisie made considerable concessions to the southern slave-owning states.

The population of the United States grew rapidly, particularly in the North-West, where whole families of pioneers set out in their covered wagons to chop down the forests and plough the virgin lands.

Some of them, the squatters, simply seized land, others bought it from the government. Under pressure from the settlers, the government was forced to grant squatters' rights for the privileged purchase of land that they cultivated and gradually reduce the price of land. As a result the new lands in the North-West were usually occupied by farming families, most of whom farmed the land with their own hands. Their produce was mainly sold. Along the Mississippi and its tributaries grain and pork were brought to the plantations and later on to the growing towns of the East and West. The farmers began to replace their own home-made tools and clothes with cheap factory goods purchased for money.

The Beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The development of transport played an important role in the economic growth of the country. Robert Fulton's invention of the steamboat in 1807 was the beginning of the rapid development of river transport. Canals were built and in 1828 the first railways. This encouraged the growth of metallurgy and other industries and was one of the reasons for the industrial revolution.

During the first half of the 19th century the cotton and metals industries were the most important. The American factories, particularly in the metals industry, made goods with a high level of standardization and mechanization and soon surpassed the English factories. The high level of mechanization was due to the labour shortage, which the United States had always experienced. Immigration provided the most important source of the workforce for American industry and transport. The inflow of immigrants had shrunk drastically during the time of the Napoleonic Wars, but when they were over it increased with every decade to become a huge flood by the middle of the century. Between 1820 and 1850 two and a half million people emigrated to the United States from Europe, swelling the US population to 23 million. But by no means all the impoverished peasants, workers and craftsmen who had come from Europe were able to acquire land in the West. The majority remained where they had landed—in the port towns of the East. And it was they who provided the cheap workforce which fed the American industrial enterprises. The famine which struck Ireland in the late 1840s forced innumerable Irishmen to leave their country to find work in the factories of New England, or go digging the ground, making canals and building railroads in other US states. But at the other end of the scale were skilled English metalworkers and miners who brought English technical experience and know-how to the New World.

The Monroe Doctrine. American politicians had frequently put forward the idea that it was the very hand of fate which had decreed that the United States have power over the whole of North America. These ideas crystallized during the second quarter of the 19th century into the principle of “Manifest Destiny”. But the greed of the expansionists spread even further—to Central and South America, and this finally culminated in the notorious Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine, which was proclaimed by President James Monroe in December 1823 following certain diplomatic manoeuvres by the European states, became generally known under the phrase “America for the Americans”. The United States government declared that it would not interfere in European affairs, but at the same time it would not permit European intervention in the Americas, nor the founding there of new

colonies. It also stressed the incompatibility of the state structures of monarchist Europe and republican America. But this democratic and republican phraseology concealed even then the clear intention on the United States to dominate both Americas and permit no European competition there. But apart from its expansionist orientation, the Monroe Doctrine had at the time certain progressive features, since it set American republicanism against the reactionary legitimism of the Holy Alliance. But the progressive aspects proved short-lived, whereas the main features of the doctrine—expansionism and aggressiveness—have frequently made themselves felt in US foreign policy.

The Workers' Movement. During the 1820s and 1830s popular movements resulted in the adoption of a number of democratic reforms. By the thirties universal suffrage (for men) was established almost throughout the country. There were numerous labour unions demanding a 10-hour working day, wage increases and improved labour conditions. The workers set up their parties and newspapers, and staged strikes. But none of these workers' organizations was very long lasting. The higher wages in comparison with Europe, and the availability of free land in the West held up the development of the workers' movement. There was also the important fact that the workers spoke many different languages as most of them were immigrants from different countries.

Each national group brought its own characteristics to the workers' movement. The English brought their trade union experience and the experience of Chartist political struggle. Immigrants from the German revolution of 1848, many of whom had known Karl Marx, brought the ideas of socialism. The 1840s saw the spread in America of consumer and producer cooperatives. Utopian-socialist colonies were formed, though most of them did not last long.

Abolitionism. In the South there were frequent black uprisings. The biggest of these was the Nat Turner uprising in 1831. It was put down, but the slave-owning South lived in permanent fear of slave revolts. But the most effective means of struggle for the slaves was running away from the plantations. These escapes were organized by a secret society which consisted of both whites and blacks. The fugitives were

brought to the borders of the free states, where they were hidden in farmsteads and then secretly passed from one to another, frequently as far as Canada.

This activity was carried out by the abolitionists, people who wanted the abolition of slavery. This movement had begun in New England in the 1830s largely through the efforts of William Henry Harrison. Another prominent figure in the movement was Frederick Douglass, a free black. The ideology of abolitionism was widely reflected in literature. Most famous of the books written at the time on this theme was *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe, which came out in 1852.

The Political Crisis of the 1850s. All the most important political events of the mid-19th century were connected with the inevitable conflict between the slave-owning system and the hired-labour system. In 1846 a war broke out between the United States and Mexico. It lasted two years and resulted in the Mexicans losing half their territory, while the American slave-owners acquired new lands for their plantations. In 1848 gold was found in California, which had been taken from Mexico, and "gold-diggers" from all over the world rushed there to stake their claims. But since California had been accepted into the Union as a free state, where slavery was banned, a political conflict broke out between the supporters and opponents of slavery. It ended in 1850 in another compromise, the most important part of which was a law, by which the authorities in the northern states were obliged to catch runaway slaves and return them to their owners. Severe penalties were imposed for hiding fugitive slaves and federal agents were given the task of catching them.

The Fugitive Slave Act made many northerners, who had previously been indifferent to abolitionist slogans, take part in frequent demonstrations against slavery. On many occasions the demonstrators carried arms.

The political crisis of these years resulted in the break-up of the old political parties and the formation of new ones. The Party calling itself Republican included several political groups, some of whom had split from the Democratic Party. The Republicans wanted to stop the spread of slavery into the new territories. They were supported by the north-western farmers and a large part of the Northern bourgeoisie.

Whereas the old commercial bourgeoisie – the bankers and the cotton industrialists – had been economically tied to the South and for this reason supported the Democratic Party, the new industrial bourgeoisie, which was rapidly growing in numbers and strength, went over to the Republicans. They wanted high customs tariffs as protection against English competition, new railroads and complete *laissez-faire* capitalism. The Republicans did not demand the abolition of slavery, but the limitations they placed on slave-owning in the territories which they virtually occupied would inevitably result in its liquidation. This was understood by both the slave-owners and their opponents.

The Republican candidate for the presidential elections of 1860 was Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer who had risen up from the lower classes. He had become popular amongst the people for his political activity against slavery.

The Republicans promised the electors to pass the Homestead Laws, i.e., the free distribution of land, which the Democrats had long held up. One of the slogans of their electoral campaign was "Vote Yourself a Farm!". This slogan brought the workers, particularly the immigrants, over to the side of the Republicans. In November 1860 Lincoln was elected president. This meant an end to many years of rule by the leaders of the South.

But the slave-owners would not tolerate this. Lincoln's election was viewed in the South as a signal for splitting the Union, for rebellion. One after another the southern states left the Union and in February 1861 formed their own Confederacy with Jefferson Davis, a Mississippi planter, as president.

Apart from defence of the slave-owning system, which was proclaimed as the corner-stone of the Confederacy, there were other no less important reasons why the Southerners left the Union. All the economy of the South depended upon the export of cotton, therefore they were opposed to the protectionist tariff which the Republicans intended to introduce. The Southern traders and planters were heavily into debt with the Northern firms and the idea of getting these debts annulled through a Union split was very appealing to them. The Southern upper crust, who had long had control of the Federal apparatus would

not accept the inevitability of conceding lucrative and influential posts to the Republican "upstarts".

Thus in early 1861 the two hostile camps stood face to face. Some two-thirds of the 31 million US citizens lived in the North where the population grew faster than in the South, since that was where almost all the immigrants (mostly Irish and Germans) arrived. This inflow had grown exceptionally large between the 1840s and 1860s due to the economic and political changes that had taken place in Europe as a result of the revolutions there. It was also in the North where almost all of the country's industry was concentrated. In the last decade its output had nearly doubled. That same decade had also seen a threefold increase in the size of the country's railroad network, almost three-quarters of which was in the North. Most of the country's food was also produced in the North. It would seem that victory in a civil war with the South was certain, and yet it took four years of bitter fighting to achieve it.

The First Period of the Civil War. The first blow was struck by the Southerners. In April 1861 they took the federal port of Sumter in South Carolina. If previously various sections of the Northern population had tried to avoid a war and iron out the conflict, the aggression of the Southerners, who had fired on the national flag, now changed their mood completely. The Northerners enthusiastically took up arms against the rebels, who had split the republic. At Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers to reinforce the army, 300,000 men enlisted. Workers' regiments and immigrant contingents of various nationalities were formed. The Northern bourgeoisie, who were now convinced that the Southerners' debts would not be paid, were also resolutely behind the government. A large part of the Democratic Party in the North, known as the "military democrats", also gave tangible support to the government's military effort.

But the Northerners' hopes for a quick and easy victory were frustrated. The Southerners turned out to be better prepared for war. Their army was better organized and had better officers, since the majority of officers in the pre-war American army had been Southerners. After the fall of Sumter, the Confederacy managed to bring under another four states. It now consisted of 11 states which remained within it

until its end. (The Union in all comprised 23 states, not including the new territories which had not yet received State rights.)

On the Eastern front the war remained more or less at a standstill throughout its four years. Washington was a front-line city, since the Southerners continually directed their thrust against the capital of the Union. Defence of the capital was of paramount importance in the tactical plans of the Northerners. One small area—small that is in comparison with the whole theatre of war—which included part of Virginia and sometimes part of Maryland and Pennsylvania saw four years of bitter fighting without final result as first one side then the other gained the upper hand. This was particularly true during the first part of the war due mainly to the poor strategy of the Northerners.

On the Western front operations from the very beginning went more successfully. There the fighting mainly took place in the Mississippi Valley.

In view of the South's economic backwardness, its hopes for victory—and the South wanted not only independence, but the subjugation of the whole Union—were placed largely on receiving help from abroad. England and France, it was thought, could not do without cotton and would fight in the war on the side of the Confederates. But these hopes came to nothing. When the Civil War broke out there was overproduction of cotton goods both in England and France and huge reserves of raw cotton were stocked up. Real hunger for cotton only began to be felt in Europe two years later.

The English ruling classes, of course, made no attempt to hide their sympathy for the South, with which for many decades they had been politically and economically tied and to which they gave active support. Thus warships were built at the English docks and fitted out for the Southerners, and these subsequently caused great damage to the Northern merchant fleet. But English help could not change the course of the war for the South.

The Turning-Point in the Civil War. In the spring and summer of 1862 industrial growth in the North brought an upsurge in the workers' movement. This was also felt in the army, more than a third of whom were workers. The soldiers

were dissatisfied with the course of the war and the tactics employed. They demanded a resolute offensive, the freeing of the slaves and the confiscation of the planters' land. These demands were made at meetings held in the rear. The radical wing of the Republican Party put forward a programme of serious military and political action.

In mid-1862 Lincoln's government under popular pressure adopted a number of measures, which ultimately brought about a turning-point in the course of the war. In May the President approved the Homestead Laws and plots of land of up to 160 acres were handed out to practically all who wanted them for almost nothing. These laws, which at first sight had nothing to do with military activities, in fact had a very important effect on the course of the war and its outcome. They were welcomed by the mass of the farmers and the workers who had been trying to get them passed for so long. But the most important role was played by the President's proclamation on the liberation of the slaves. This stated that from January 1, 1863 slaves were to be liberated in all the rebel states. Although the proclamation was motivated by the course of the war and although it contained various provisos and was not extended to black slaves in the border slave-owning states that remained in the Union (Lincoln was afraid that these might go over to the South), it still had enormous revolutionary significance. The masses and all progressive people in America greeted it enthusiastically. More and more slaves began to run away to areas held by the Northern armies, where they were allowed to enlist, a permission which was widely accepted.

The turning-point in hostilities came in the summer of 1863. In early June the Southerners were defeated at Gettysburg and thrown back. Strong discontent with the war was now appearing in their rear. At the same time the Northerners took the Mississippi and the Confederates were split into two. Despite their stubborn resistance and several victories over the Northerners, their strength was running out. Desertion became widespread. The army was badly provisioned and the soldiers often went hungry. The white poor who were forced to enlist were unwilling to spill blood for the planters. There were also a large number of "unionists" in the South, who supported the Union

and who had resisted the secession. Their secret organizations now stepped up their activity. Partisan detachments were formed, consisting of deserters, unionists and Northerners who had escaped captivity. The slaves planned a big uprising, which did not in fact take place, but uncoordinated riots became more frequent. The economic position of the South worsened.

But the South too had powerful and active allies in the North. These counterrevolutionary agents were called "grass-snakes". After the revolutionary turning-point in the war some of the conservative bourgeoisie in the North, fearing popular outbursts, went over to the "peace democrats", who openly opposed the war, and even directly joined the "grass-snakes". Supported by the radicals the Lincoln government took repressive measures against the "grass-snakes", but they still continued to operate and organized various rebellions in the Northern towns.

In spring 1864 General Grant was made commander-in-chief of the Northern forces. Soon afterwards a huge army under General Sherman marched into Georgia. On the way they cut the main railroad to the South, pulled up the rails and destroyed the plantations. Thousands of blacks flocked to join them.

Meanwhile political storms raged in the North in the form of the presidential elections at which the problems of the post-war reconstruction predominated. In November 1864 Lincoln was re-elected with a far more revolutionary programme than four years previously.

General Grant at the head of the Potomac army marched on Richmond from the North. This march was extremely difficult and the Confederates' capital could only be taken after he had been joined by Sherman from the South. The first to march along the streets of Richmond after its surrender was the regiment of former black slaves. Finally on April 9, 1865 General Robert H. Lee, commander-in-chief of the Southern forces capitulated at Appomattox. The war was over.

Five days later President Lincoln was assassinated in his box at the theatre by an actor, John Booth, who supported the slave-owners. The nation's grief at this killing was expressed by the great American poet, Walt Whitman, a contemporary of the Civil War, who wrote in the poem "O Captain! My Captain!":

*My captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse, nor will,
The ship is anchored safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won.*

Reconstruction. After the hostilities were over the country faced the problem of reconstruction, as it is normally referred to in American historical literature, the restoration of state unity and the restructuring of the life of the South. Slavery was abolished. In February 1865 Congress had already passed the 13th Amendment to the Constitution which banned slavery throughout the United States. But the liberated slaves still found themselves in a very difficult situation. The economy of the South had been destroyed by the war and though the blacks now had personal freedom, they had not been given the means of existence. Many of them wandered the roads and perished of hunger. They wanted the land and the implements of the planters to be divided up. "Forty Acres and a Mule!" was their slogan. In some places they seized the plantations themselves and marked them off into plots. Sometimes they even began armed uprisings. They also demanded equal political rights and equal access to education.

Attempts by the blacks to seize land were usually put down by federal troops, but the planters who dominated the local government bodies that had been elected during the first year after the war introduced in a number of states the Black Codes, which put the blacks under a regime of semi-slavery. This met with great resistance from the black population and the poor whites.

Lincoln's successor was Vice-President Andrew Johnson, whose policy favoured the vanquished rebels. But it was strongly opposed by the radical Republicans who dominated Congress. In 1866 Congress adopted the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, which gave the blacks civil rights, deprived a large number of those who had taken part in the rebellion of the right to occupy government posts and declared the war debts of the Confederacy invalid. The radical Republicans supported the blacks' demands for land.

In 1867 federal troops were again sent into the Southern states. Members of the local government bodies were elected by the whole population, including the blacks. This right was

only denied to those who had taken an active part in the rebellion. Neither before nor after had the South ever seen years like these. Yesterday's slaves participated in government as both electors and elected. Those government bodies, in which white and black workers predominated, passed numerous democratic reforms. Great attention was given to education with numerous schools being opened for blacks, both children and adults. The rich, particularly the big plantation owners, had to pay enormous taxes and the revenue from these went to improving social welfare. But the planters fought bitterly against this and the workers, both black and white, were forced to step up their activity.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution, which had begun with the Civil War, continued. But it no longer developed on a national scale, but only in the special conditions of the South. But this was already a rear-guard action, and the revolution fell into decline without radically solving the main question—the question of land in the South. The plantations that remained, no longer having slave-labour, were now divided into small allotments and rented out to share-croppers, both black and white. Without any other means of existence, the blacks were forced to accept the hard conditions of share-cropping. The landowner received the largest amount of the crops, since mostly he also owned the tools and the tenant was in heavy debt to him. For many decades to come this “cropper” system was established in the Southern states. It was similar to the peonage system in Latin America and doomed the cropper to a pauper's existence and the labour conditions of a semi-slave. It had terrible consequences for society in the South and ultimately for the whole country.

But the slave-owning planters had been dealt a shattering blow. Some had had their lands confiscated during the war, others had gone out of business, others still had had their lands seized by the blacks and whites and not returned to them. Many plantations were sold to pay off debts after the war, a policy that was inflexibly carried out by the revolutionary authorities of the Southern states during the period of reconstruction. The land was then divided into small plots and sold at a low price. Furthermore, the Homestead Laws were extended to cover state land in the South. In this way a large number of small and medium-sized farms appeared in the South belonging mostly to white owners. This path of

capitalist development in agriculture became predominant on a national scale as a result of the Civil War.

The development of capitalism in the post-war South was very much helped by the bourgeois North. Much land was bought up by the capitalists, officers and politicians of the Northern states. And these lands were often farmed on a large scale with the help of hired-labour. After the war people flocked to the South from the North in search of easy money through speculation and chicanery. Northern capital became firmly entrenched in the South.

As the pace of the revolution slowed, the ruling Republican Party began increasingly to lose contact with the masses in both the North and the South. Its radical wing weakened. In the South the Republicans gradually ceased supporting the revolutionary mass organizations once they had defeated their political rivals.

By encouraging economic rivalry and inflaming racial discord, the planters managed to draw the poor whites away from the blacks. Local government bodies of radical reconstruction were brought down one after another. The Black Codes were brought back. With the organization of the Ku Klux Klan in 1865 and other racist secret terrorist organizations that killed and maimed black Americans and the whites that stood up for them, terror reigned in the South. This in turn was met with opposition from the armed black groups. But it was a struggle in which the reactionary leaders of the South had gained the upper hand. And in this they were helped by the Republican Party, who had betrayed the blacks—their political support in the South.

At the 1876 elections the Republicans made a compromise with the Democrats electing the Republican Rutherford Hayes President of the United States. All federal troops were withdrawn from the South and the reactionary Southern leaders were given complete control. But these were no longer the plantation-owning aristocrats, but businessmen and landowners who had financial and family ties with the Northern capitalists.

The defeat of the revolutionary forces of the South was in no small way explained by the fact that these forces were separated from the mass of the people in the North and particularly from its working class.

The main demand of the workers' movement, which had grown much stronger after the war, was the 8-hour working day. The initiator and organizer of this struggle was Ira Steward, a metalworker from Boston. The struggle was also waged by the powerful National Labour Union, which was formed in 1866 and led by William Sylvis. This organization demanded rights for women workers, whose numbers had grown increasingly during the war years. Conventions of the National Labour Union were attended by black worker delegates, but the Union was unable to seriously formulate the problem of black Americans.

During the late 1860s sections of the First International (the International Working Men's Association) began to appear in the United States. The initiators of this were the New York German Marxists, particularly Friedrich Adolph Sorge. These sections spread to other towns and cities and also influenced the black workers' organizations.

Industry in the United States developed rapidly after the war, being technically refurbished and mechanized. Machine building was particularly well developed. This period can be looked upon as the completion of the industrial revolution in the United States. The country was rapidly covered by a huge network of railroads. In 1869 the first transcontinental railroad linking the Atlantic with the Pacific, which had been begun during the war, was completed. The bourgeoisie got rich. In a short time enormous fortunes were amassed.

The Importance of the Civil War. The Civil War of 1861-1865 in the United States was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It decided in a bourgeois fashion the main problems of the social and economic development of the United States, the most important of which was the situation of the slaves. But an active role in this revolution was played by the American working classes. This revolution removed all obstacles in the path of capitalist development. Industry was technically refurbished and made rapid strides ahead; in agriculture small and medium-sized farms became predominant everywhere, resulting in rapid property stratification among the farmers. The bourgeoisie established its domination on a national scale, no longer sharing it with the slave-owners. The abolition of slavery

was the highest achievement of the revolution and it encouraged the growth of the workers' movement. In the process of this revolution the American nation consolidated from its various ethnic elements.

But the bourgeois-democratic revolution was not completed in the United States, largely because the bourgeoisie was unwilling to continue it. The former slaves received neither land nor full civil rights. This had serious consequences for the subsequent history of the United States.

Chapter XXIV

LATIN AMERICA FROM 1500 TO 1870

Latin America Under Spain and Portugal. In 1492 Christopher Columbus discovered America and proclaimed it a Spanish possession. Then came the conquistadors, thirsting for gold. They destroyed the highly developed civilizations of the native Indians of Central America and the Pacific coast of North America and subdued or exterminated the numerous Indian tribes. On these conquered territories Spain built a huge colonial empire which covered a large part of both Americas and the offshore islands. From 1500 this empire had only one neighbour—Brazil (in the western part of the South America), which from that time was a Portuguese colony.

Gold, silver, precious woods, tropical fruits and much else together with the brutal exploitation of the native Indians and later the imported black slaves brought enormous wealth to the powers of the Iberian Peninsula. This aroused the envy of their rivals—England, France and Holland, which at first would not risk an open war. But with the approval of the governments of these countries some of their subjects committed piratical acts against Spanish and Portuguese ships sailing back from America. From 1655 to 1660 the French held Guanabara Bay, where later Rio de Janeiro was founded. From 1630 to 1765 the Dutch occupied the north-western part of Brazil (Pernambuco). From the late 16th to the early 17th centuries the English made several attempts to entrench themselves in Guiana (Guayana) using it as a base from which to plunder the galleons on their way from America to Spain and Portugal. But at the same time rivalry between the English, French and Dutch allowed Spain and Por-

tugal to retain control of their main possessions in America right up until the beginning of the 19th century.

The vast extent of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires in America encouraged the governments in Madrid and Lisbon to divide them, while retaining their own supreme power, into captaincies-general governed from the metropolises. The largest of these were later given the status of vice-royalties. This was the status given to Brazil. Below the vice-roys and captains-general on the administrative ladder were the governors, who were in charge of the provinces; the *corregidores* and *alcaldes*, who ran individual regions; the municipal authorities in the towns and the *cassiques*, who were the hereditary elders of the Indian villages.

The Catholic Church was enormously important. It possessed huge territories, controlled all education and exercised censorship. Missionary work was zealous and in large part carried out by the Jesuits. Over the large territory of what is now Paraguay, where the borders of the Spanish and Portuguese empires met, the Jesuits formed their own state through the unification of the innumerable missions. The State of Jesuits, which brought its order enormous revenues, existed from the first quarter of the 17th century to the last third of the 18th century, when during the period of enlightened absolutism in Spain and Portugal the Jesuits were driven out of Latin America.

The Exploitation of the Local Population. Encomienda. During the first years of colonization Bartolome de las Casas, a Dominican monk, who was known as the "Red Indian Apostle", raised his voice in defence of the Indian population. But all his efforts were in vain, for even the ordinances of the various kings, who wanted to keep the Indians as their tax payers, could not save them from extermination or extinction. The colonizers who had seized enormous areas of land needed the Indians to work in their fields, in their mines and in their homes. At first they made them slaves, but their catastrophic mortality as a result of forced labour and captivity, together with changes in the development of agriculture and the policy of the crown, brought about a need for a feudal-bondage system of exploitation, known as *encomienda*. A lot of Indians were tied to the lands of the *encomienderos* and forced to

pay taxes in kind and often, in contravention of the law, were turned into corvée labourers. Those who were not under the power of the landowners (with the exception of the "savages" who inhabited the inaccessible regions) were forced into service to the crown. Outside the villages in which the Indians lived, wages were very low, often nothing more than the bare essentials of food. The village *cassiques* were required to send fixed numbers of local inhabitants to work in the mines, on the plantations and in the manufactories of the crown, where the majority died of disease, hunger, overwork or simply at the hands of their guards.

The Plantation System. In the early 18th century the *encomienda* system was abolished, but the economic and political power of the landowners ensured the dependence of both the Indians who remained on the landowners' land and those who lived in the rural communities, since their land was swallowed up in the large-scale, *latifundia*-type farms. This resulted in a specific form of dependence, known as *peonage*, or hereditary debt slavery. The reduction in the Indian population led to a labour shortage, particularly in the islands and on the Equatorial coast, where colonization was only beginning and where the climatic conditions were suitable to a plantation economy. The planters then began to import black slaves from Africa.

The coexistence of the three races, despite prejudices and social barriers (social position in the majority of cases depended on colour of skin), resulted in their intermingling. In Spanish America, the colonists who were born from white parents, were known as *Creoles*. Although they did everything to emphasize their European origins, many had Indian and even African blood flowing in their veins. Those who were born from a mixture of whites and Indians were called *mestizos*, from whites and blacks—*mulattos*, and from Indians and blacks—*sambos*. Visiting Spaniards—usually civil servants, officers and rich traders—were known by the local people disparagingly as "chaperons" which meant "those who wear the spurs", "newcomers", "aliens". In Brazil similar names of differentiation were given, but there the black population was predominant and there were fewer Indians due to the plantation system in practice.

Indian Uprisings. The colonial regime which was based on the oppression of the Indians and blacks provoked their resistance. Uprisings broke out here and there and in some places lasted for decades. Such was the revolt of the Pueblo Indians in the second half of the 16th century in the vice-royalty of New Spain. In the jungle of Brazil the fugitive blacks joined together and formed their own state, known as the Palm Republic, which lasted from 1630 to 1697. In the vice-royalty of Chile the Araucan Indians were able to defend their independence and twice it was officially recognized by the Spanish after unsuccessful attempts to crush it. In 1680 and 1681 the vice-royalty of Peru was shaken by an unprecedented Indian uprising led by Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui (Tupac Amaru). It was at that time that the colonizers began to come up against increasing opposition from the Creoles, who with rare exceptions were not permitted into the government apparatus or to engage in profitable trade. During the 1720s and 1730s the Creoles revolted in Asuncion in Paraguay, discontented at the privileged position of the Jesuits. In the early 1780s the "Three Antonios" plot took place in Chile, its aim being to proclaim the country an independent republic. In the late 1780s Joaquim Jose da Silva Xavier (Tiradentis) plotted in Brazil for the same purpose. But the Spanish and Portuguese managed to put down these anticolonial movements thanks to their own military supremacy, the lack of organization in the movements, the disputes which broke out among the insurgents and treachery among the plotters. Many of these factors were due to the class and ethnic differences among the population.

The Decline of the Colonial Regime. During the second half of the 18th century the colonial system in Spain and Portugal was weakened by long economic and political stagnation in the metropolises. It was also shaken by the increasing number of uprisings among the Indians, blacks, slaves and Creoles. The mainstays of the system were also undermined by Spain's and Portugal's European rivals, who rapidly outstripped the two colonial powers in social and economic development and in military and naval might. The English, the French and the Dutch were able to found colonies in Guiana. The English took Jamaica and a number of other islands as well as the south-eastern part of the Yucutan Peninsula. The

Dutch took the Island of Curacao, while the French in the first half of the 17th century took the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. By the end of the century the French had seized the western part of the Island of Santo Domingo from the Spanish and in 1800 Spain conceded them Louisiana.

The colonial regimes in Spanish America and Brazil were seriously affected by the great revolutionary events of the time, particularly the American War of Independence (1775-1783), the French revolution (1789-1799) and the revolution of black slaves in the French part of the Island of Santo Domingo (1791-1804). During this revolution the insurgents cast off the yoke of slavery and defeated not only the local planters (white and mulatto), the Spanish from the neighbouring colony and the English interventionists, but also a large expeditionary army sent in by Napoleon. Their struggle was led by a skilful commander and politician, Toussaint L'Ouverture. In 1804 taking the name Haiti, the former French colony proclaimed full independence.

At the beginning of the 19th century, when Spain's and Portugal's domination in Latin America was being seriously threatened, Madrid and Lisbon could find no other way of bolstering it than the strict maintenance of trade restrictions and a system of taxation that made the people destitute, increased censorship and brutal reprisals against "heretics" and "rebels". In other words, additional barriers were put in the way of the economic and social development of the colonies, in which bourgeois relations were already beginning to develop. Colonial oppression became intolerable and the number of plots against the colonialists grew. But the liberation struggle was still held back by internal class and ethnic contradictions and by the down-trodden and ignorant condition of the masses. This became only too evident when Francisco Miranda attempted an uprising. A former officer in the Spanish army, a general in revolutionary France and a propagandist in Europe for the liberation of Spanish America, he gathered together a contingent of volunteers and in 1806 arrived in Venezuela with two ships. But after initial success he was driven out of the colony. The local population, who had been made believe that he was a "servant of the Anti-christ", gave him no support.

The Liberation Wars in the Spanish Colonies. In 1808 Napoleon's troops invaded Spain. Despite desperate resistance by 1810 the French had taken almost the whole country. In Spanish America the supporters of independence took this as a signal for revolt. Ousting the representatives of the practically defunct Spanish government, they took power into their own hands. In the spring and summer of 1810 patriotic juntas appeared in all the major towns. These nominally recognized the power of King Ferdinand VII of Spain, but he was held prisoner by the French. Alarmed at this at first, the Spanish army and the pro-Spanish colonists offered resistance. This resulted in armed uprisings, which developed into wars of independence.

For the first four years the patriots were successful. In New Spain (Mexico) they were headed by Miguel Hidalgo and after his death by Jose Maria Morelos; in Venezuela Miranda returned, but after he was captured and died in prison his place was taken by Simon Bolivar; in New Granada Antonio Narino was the leader; in the vice-royalty of Rio de la Plata Marian Moreno was followed by Manuel Belgrano and Jose San Martin; in the eastern part of the vice-royalty (Uruguay) Jose Gervasio Artigas led the rebellion and in the north-eastern part (Paraguay) Jose Gaspar Francia. By 1815 Spanish America had largely been liberated from Spanish rule. The former colonies now became independent republics.

In 1814 the French were driven out of Spain and Ferdinand VII was returned to the throne. He established a brutal reactionary regime in the country and set himself the task of subduing the colonies. A large expeditionary force was sent to South America and with the support of local royalists had by the end of 1815 largely achieved its objective. At the same time the royalists were victorious in Central America and Mexico. Morelos was shot and Bolivar fled Venezuela and took refuge in Jamaica. With the exception of La Plata the colonial regime was re-established in Spanish America. Merciless terror reigned everywhere. But this regime, which had already suffered serious damage could not last long, where people had already breathed the air of freedom and had experienced successful struggle.

In 1816 the war of independence was renewed. A role of great importance in this was played by General Bolivar, who

had already shown himself to be a great military commander and politician and who had now returned to his native land. In 1818 independence was proclaimed in Chile and a government was formed under the leader of the local patriots, Bernardo O'Higgins. In 1821 the Mexicans gained independence. By the summer of 1822 Bolivar's troops, which had already liberated Venezuela, drove out the Spanish from New Granada and the province of Quito. Uniting together they formed the Republic of Great Colombia. To the north of it, the Republic of the United Provinces of Central America was formed; to the south, the United Provinces of La Plata. The Spanish held out longest in Peru—till 1824, when after a heroic march across the Andes, Bolivar's army destroyed the Spanish at Junin, and the army of his comrade-in-arms, General Sucre, defeated them at Ayacucho. The last Spanish units, surrounded in the fortress of Callao and on the Island of Chiloe, surrendered in 1826. The War of Independence in Latin America was over. Spain now held only the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

In Brazil the situation was somewhat different. In 1808 the Portuguese Prince Regent Joao arrived there escorted by the English navy after fleeing from Portugal which was then in the hands of Napoleon. In 1815 Brazil was proclaimed a kingdom (united with the metropolis) and Joao was made King Joao VI. The transfer of the Portuguese government to Brazil and the requirements of the court at first stimulated the country's development, but the continental blockade and the reduction of trade with Europe and the war with the United Provinces of La Plata over Uruguay worsened the situation.

At the same time the Hispano-American patriots gave an inspiring example of freedom struggle. A movement for complete separation from Portugal and the formation of an independent republic began and rapidly developed. To keep the country as a possession of the Braganza Royal House and subsequently to bring it again within Portuguese control, Joao proclaimed Brazil an independent empire. The imperial court and the government were formed mainly from the Portuguese dignitaries who remained in the country, but the chief economic and political force were the local slave-owning planters.

The Development of the Independent Republics. And so, with the exception of Brazil, the wars of independence brought a republican system to the former colonies (in Haiti frequent attempts were made to institute a monarchy, but in 1849 republican rule was finally established). The Constitutions of these republics were made according to the French or American models. Again with the exception of Brazil, slavery was completely or partially abolished, the noble titles done away with and many of the privileges enjoyed by the Church removed. The War of Independence had been anti-feudal and revolutionary in character. But the many centuries of oppression together with social and ethnic fragmentation meant that the movement was headed by representatives of the colonial upper classes, most of whom were Creoles. This in turn meant that the system of large-scale landowning remained intact, while the antifeudal objectives of the national liberation revolution were not achieved. This was immediately apparent in the discrepancy between progressive constitutional provisions and the real social and economic structure of the new states. There arose a permanent conflict between the various classes and strata of society and between the countries and their various provinces, a conflict which reflected the difficult path of bourgeois development and the people's resistance to oppression.

The uncertain boundaries of the former colonies and differing regional interests led to long-term territorial disputes and resultant splits. The Republic of Great Colombia split into Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador; and the United Provinces of Central America into Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Salvador: Argentina and Brazil — former members of the United Provinces of La Plata, fought each other in 1825 over the possession of Uruguay. But no victory was achieved and eventually both belligerents recognized the independence of Uruguay in 1828. A second attempt on the independence of that country resulted in the Paraguayan War of 1864-1870. Paraguay, which supported Uruguay, became the victim of aggression from Brazil, Argentina and ultimately Uruguay itself, whose independence had been also recognized by England and France. Paraguay fought back heroically, but eventually succumbed to overwhelming forces and lost a large part of its territory. Bled white from war and cut off from its main waterway, the River

Parana, Paraguay lost some of the features which had previously characterized it—greater Indian participation in government and a relatively rapid development of the productive forces.

These armed conflicts and the many destructive years of the War of Independence forced the Latin American governments to accept foreign loans. And this debt eventually led to financial, economic and political dependence on the lender countries, chief among which at the time was England.

After the War of Independence Latin America became the scene of struggle between the federalists and the unitarians and saw the birth of *caudillism*—personal dictatorship, either on a local, provincial or national level. This was particularly evident in Argentina, where the centre of federalism was the richest and most developed Province of Buenos Aires. Wanting autonomy within the framework of a federation, it strongly defended its trading interests which resulted from the position of its eponymous capital as the main port of the whole country. Other provinces which were unitarian also wanted to get to this port so as to gain access to the world markets and thus develop their own. In 1828 the federalists won a military victory over the unitarians and to a large extent power in the country passed into the hands of their *caudillo*, General Juan Manuel de Rosas. As dictator he imposed a reactionary regime, which pursued an aggressive foreign policy and neglected national interests. The people were subjected to merciless oppression, primarily in the interests of the large-scale landowners and the rich merchants of the Province of Buenos Aires. Rosas began a new war for Uruguay and a war against the recalcitrant provinces. But in 1852 the dictator was overthrown by the united efforts of these provinces under the command of General Justo Jose Urquiza. This ended the struggle between the federalists and the unitarians, but as bourgeois relations and national self-consciousness developed, federalism gradually turned into federal unitarianism and unitarianism into unitarian federalism. The latter was clearly personified by President Bartolome Mitre (1826-1868), for it was under his government that the provinces united into a single state with its capital in Buenos Aires.

But the Paraguayan War, which Argentina came out of barely avoiding defeat, brought no benefits to Brazil either.

The new territories lay on the borders of the huge empire and could not be developed. The economy of the slave-owning monarchy could not withstand the tension. Debts and consequently dependence on England rose excessively. Since there were so few recruits, hastily liberated slaves had to be accepted into the army. The crisis in the slave-owning plantation economy which had begun before the Paraguayan War, became even more acute, giving fresh impetus to the abolitionist movement. This movement was largely influenced by the abolition of slavery in the United States in 1862 and the Cuban uprising in 1868 against Spanish colonial domination. In 1871 Emperor Pedro II was forced to pass a law proclaiming all children born from slave women to be free.

In Mexico, the northernmost of the Latin American countries, the War of Independence was followed by an internal conflict reminiscent of that in Argentina. In 1832 General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna became president and his rule was a replica of that of Rosas with the important exception that Mexico bordered on the United States. In 1836 Texas broke away from Mexico and declared itself an independent republic. In 1845 it was annexed by the USA, an act which caused the American-Mexican War (1846-1848). After a series of defeats Santa Anna was deposed in 1847, and the new government began peace talks. Fifty-five per cent of Mexico's territory went to the USA to be followed by another 120,000 sq km in 1853. The peace treaty that was signed on these conditions was the result of the military and economic supremacy of the United States, but also of treachery on the part of the Mexican ruling classes. They feared that the continuation of an unsuccessful war would arouse discontent among the people and that this would threaten their privileged positions. An uprising was averted, but a broad popular movement for reform began. From 1854 it took on a revolutionary character. In 1857 a new Constitution was introduced and Mexico became a representative federative republic consisting of a number of states with their own local self-government. Democratic freedoms were proclaimed.

But the conservative forces revolted and deposed the liberal President Ignacio Comonfort. The struggle against them was led by Benito Pablo Juarez, the son of an Indian

peasant, who was an extremely capable man and at the time of the uprising chairman of the Supreme Court. Under Juarez' leadership Reform Laws were passed. Thus earlier progressive changes were endorsed and new ones introduced. In 1860 Juarez' army was victorious and in 1861 he was elected president. But the conservatives received aid from England, France and Spain that began a war of aggression under the pretext of Mexico's non-payment of its foreign debts. The aim of the intervention was the economic and political subordination of the country. But the people with Juarez as their leader resolutely rebuffed the aggressors. In 1862 the English and the Spanish withdrew, though the French continued to fight. They took a large part of the country and established a government under the "Emperor Maximilian" (an Austrian archduke whom they had brought there). The puppet empire fell in 1867 at the same time as the interventionists were finally defeated. Maximilian was executed and the Mexican people celebrated their triumphant victory.

After the collapse of the United Provinces of Central America frequent attempts were made to unite the newly formed republics again. The most fervent advocate of union was Francisco Morazan (1792-1842). He succeeded in forming the Federation of Central America of which he was elected president. He spared neither time nor effort to keep it in existence and died tragically at the hands of the enemies of unification. When the federation collapsed the small and weak states of Central America became the defenceless victims of foreign intervention and economic bondage. From 1855 to 1860 with the blessing of the United States, the filibuster William Walker proclaimed himself president of Nicaragua. The 1860s and 1870s saw a rise in demand for bananas on the world market and the beginning of the Latin American "banana republics", which were controlled by foreign capitalists, mainly English and American, who bought up the bananas and the land for growing them.

Thus, the history of Latin America from the 16th century to the end of the 1860s was determined by colonial oppression. After that regime had been done away with the Latin American countries began to move along the capitalist path of development. This slow development was accompanied by

social convulsions and mass poverty caused by the incompleteness of the antifeudal revolution whose elements had been present in the War of Independence. These difficulties were the reason why the young states of Latin America lagged behind the developed capitalist countries to which they were heavily indebted and on which they became dependent economically and politically.

Chapter XXV

THE BALKAN PEOPLES FROM 1600 TO 1870

The Crisis of the Ottoman Empire. By the mid-12th century the Ottoman Empire had driven a wedge right into the central part of Europe. In the 14th century hordes from Asia Minor had invaded Byzantium. In 1365 Sultan Murad I moved his capital to the ancient city of Adrianople, which he renamed Edirne. The Battle of Kosovo (1389) made Serbia a Turkish tributary. Sultan Bajazet I took Bulgaria, Thessalia and Macedonia. The Byzantine capital, Constantinople, became surrounded on all sides by Turkish possessions. In 1453 Sultan Mohammed II, known as "the Conqueror" stormed the city and renamed it Stamboul. The Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Walachia also recognized vassal dependence on the Sublime Porte, as the government of the Ottoman Empire came to be known. In 1526 the Turks defeated the Hungarians at the Battle of Mohacs and soon the town of Buda became the centre of a province ruled by a Turkish pasha. The whole of South-Eastern Europe and a large part of Central Europe was now in Turkish hands. The Crimean Tartar Khanate, which occupied a strategic position on the peninsula, jutting out as it did into the northern part of the Black Sea, was also a Turkish vassal state. The conquerors now had dreams of taking Vienna.

This victorious advance was made possible by, first, the sophisticated military organization that the Ottomans had, and second, the fact that they were opposed by the uncoordinated forces of a feudally fragmented Europe, although the sultans and their viziers often had to fight against the crusading armies of several states. The whole social and political organization of the Turkish Empire was subordinated to the purpose of war. The supreme sovereign of all Ottoman lands

was the sultan, who apportioned them out to the feudal chiefs (*timars* and *seameds*) obliged to do service with a fixed number of armed horsemen (*sipahis*). These formed a light, fast cavalry, which the heavy-armed European cavalry could not hope to catch. The *sipahis* possessed land only so long as they or their sons fought under the flag of the crescent. The nucleus of the Turkish infantry were the *janissaries*, who formed a specific estate in the country. In all the conquered lands a brutal blood-tax was introduced. The strongest and most healthy boys were taken away from their parents, converted to Islam and brought up to become soldiers who were fanatically devoted to the sultan and Islam without any knowledge of their own country, or language, or the Christian faith. The *janissaries* lived in barracks, received regular wages and for a long time were sworn to the practice of celibacy. They were a fearsome fighting force of professional soldiers, whose attacks were difficult to withstand.

In 1571 at the naval Battle of Lepanto off the western coast of Greece a combined Spanish and Venetian fleet won the first victory over the Turks. But for some time to come this was the only defeat they suffered and their advance could not be stopped. In 1683 the Polish King Jan Sobieski commanding a force of Polish and Austrian troops defeated the Turkish hordes advancing on Vienna. This became the turning-point in the three hundred years of conflict between Christianity and Islam. In 1684 the Saint League of Austria, Poland, Venice and Russia was formed to oppose the Turks. A powerful alliance was needed to call a halt to Ottoman expansion. For almost a century there was an uneasy balance of power between the two forces, the continuous wars and conflicts between them being fought with varying success for either side.

By the middle of the 17th century the Ottoman state had lost many of its features as a monolithic military-feudal power. The old system of land utilization had undergone a crisis with the *timars* and *seameds* doing everything in their power to make their possessions hereditary. Military expeditions and the plundering that went with them were no longer so profitable. Rent from land now became the main means of existence and military service was looked upon as an annoying distraction from one's main occupation. The *janissaries* lost their importance as an exclusively military estate.

The ban on their raising families was lifted. They now began to engage in crafts, trade and usury, taking up definite positions in the economic life of the country. They came increasingly to resemble the Pretorian Guard in Ancient Rome. Frequently they overthrew sultans who did not suit them. The old custom of each new caliph giving them gifts at the beginning of his reign now became nothing more than a kind of tribute. And at the same time the morale and fighting ability of their infantry, which did not recognize European structure and discipline, began to worsen.

The pashas, or local rulers, acquired greater independence. They formed their own armed forces, which later became whole armies, and their separatist actions against the central powers became more frequent. Civil servants were not paid, but lived at the expense of the population, in other words robbed them. Taxes were farmed and the tax collectors exacted them from the population at much higher rates than they were set officially. Usurers were yet another scourge of the people. There was no organized financial system.

The Southern Slavs Under the Sublime Porte. These hardships which were common for all subjects of the Ottoman Empire—Muslims, Jews and Christians—were made worse for the latter by religious and civil inequality. The only official law in the country was that based on the Koran and the Shariah. The large non-muslim population stood, formally speaking, completely outside the law. A Balkan Christian did not have the right to carry arms, or wear certain types of clothes. His house could not be grander than that of a Turk, to whom he should always give way on meeting.

But at the same time the millions of Christians provided revenue for the sultan's treasury and food for Stamboul, built roads and fortresses, and armed and equipped the Turkish army. The existence of the Christian community (the *millet*) was recognized in the Balkans. Its head was the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church in Constantinople. He was considered part of the higher Ottoman hierarchy, had the title of vizier and held the rank of a twin-staffed pasha, which was equivalent to that of lieutenant-general. He was responsible for the collection of taxes and had not only ecclesiastical, but to a certain extent judiciary power as well.

The native dominant feudal class in the Balkans was largely destroyed or impoverished during the conquest of the peninsula and their place was taken by sipahis, who were foreigners. In a number of places like Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina local feudals adopted Islam and merged into the ranks of the sipahis. Here, as in Bulgaria, part of the population became Muslims in an attempt to improve their lot. But the vast majority staunchly held on to the faith of their forefathers — and this meant maintaining their language, customs and ethnic features. With almost universal illiteracy, writing only existed in the monasteries. There lay as well as religious books were written out in Slavic and Greek, annals were compiled of the glorious deeds of the past, of the great days of the kingdoms of Serbia and Bulgaria, of the Byzantine Empire and of the heroes who fought against the Ottoman invasion. Among the people fables and stories of the past were passed down from generation to generation in oral poetry, and songs were sung about the deeds of the Hayduks, who were something like noble bandits fighting against the Turks.

The Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Walachia had a special place in the Ottoman Empire. After bitter fighting with the Ottoman hordes, they managed to retain their statehood, although they recognized vassal dependence on the Sublime Porte. They were ruled by local princes (in the 18th and early 19th centuries these were Greeks) and by their upper feudal class, the great boyars. They kept their own laws and their own system of land-tenure. The waves of invasion did not reach the Dubrovacka Republika (Ragusa), a trading state which flourished till the mid-17th century. In the early 18th century the people of Montenegro achieved virtual independence, being ruled first by metropolitans and then by princes from the House of Njegos.

After the terrible slaughter and genocide which accompanied the Turkish invasions in the 14th and 15th centuries, the Balkans began somewhat to recover in the next century. The comparative tranquillity ensured by the strong central power, the absence of feudal strife and the need to provide food for the army and the capital all contributed to a revival of agriculture, but as formerly on the basis of small peasant farms and the use of ordinary tools. The old towns rose up from the ruins and new ones were built. The Sublime Porte purposely

filled them with people from Asia Minor so that they should become a bulwark of its own power. The continued warring meant that the crafts were in great demand to forge weapons, make equipment and stitch uniforms. Cloth, clothes, footwear, furniture, carts, ornaments, and luxury items were all made with a high degree of technical skill. Contacts increased between villages and later between regions. The huge borders with Poland, Hungary and Austria were lively trading zones where goods flooded in from abroad.

But this did not mean that agriculture, crafts and trade in South-Eastern Europe in the 16th century were flourishing. Economic development there lagged not only behind that in the Western part of the continent, but behind that of Central Europe also. In the 17th century the crisis in the Ottoman Empire worsened. Foreign conquests came to an end and with them the stream of plunder dried up. Having lost this source of income, the sipahis settled on the land and increased their exploitation of the peasants. Dues and taxes rose. European trade routes moved from the Mediterranean, which had become a haven for pirates, to the Atlantic, and this reduced commercial ties between Western Europe and the Near East. The Dubrovacka Republika decayed.

National Renaissance in the Balkans and the Russo-Turkish Wars. In the early 18th century the South Slavs, the Greeks, the Albanians, the Walachians and the Moldavians began to recover from the shock of the Turkish invasion. The Hayducks now began to lead uprisings. Gradually ideas of liberation began to spread. This was largely due to the influx of such ideas from the West with which neither commercial nor spiritual ties had been broken. The enslaved people were inspired by their history, by memories which had not been erased of the glory of their ancestors, of the great Byzantine Empire, of the two powerful Bulgarian kingdoms and of the Kingdom of Serbia, and of the decades of brave resistance to the invaders.

The enlighteners also encouraged ideas of national renaissance. In the early 18th century the Moldavian throne was occupied by Dimitrie Cantemir, who was more famous as a scholar than a politician. The vicissitudes of fate brought him to Russia, where he wrote most of his works on the history of his native country, the Danubian principalities, recall-

ing the times when they were independent. These works included *A Historical, Geographical and Political Description of Moldavia* and the *Chronicle of the Antiquity of the Roman-Moldavian Walachians*. In the mid-18th century the members of the Transylvanian school living in the Austrian Empire wrote about the Roman origins of the inhabitants of the Danubian principalities and this connection with the powerful state of antiquity helped to promote the spiritual growth of contemporaries.

In 1768 Ivan Radic, a Serb, published his *History of the Slavic Peoples With Particular Emphasis on the Bulgars, the Croatians and the Serbs*. In the 1870s Paisii of Hilendar, a monk, published a *Slavo-Bulgarian History* and this played a prominent role in encouraging national consciousness among the Bulgars. In Albania there were legends about the famous warrior of the 15th century, Skanderbeg, who liberated his country from Turkish oppression. The Greeks turned their attention not only to medieval, but also to ancient times, when Athens was the light of civilization in Europe. The Greek lands were closely linked with the outside world. The Ionian Archipelago was part of the great and enlightened Venetian Republic. Their life on the Balkan Peninsula and on many of the islands made the Greeks familiar with the sea and hundreds of Greek boats sailed the Mediterranean and the Black seas and even out into the Atlantic. The rich Greek merchants spread their offices almost throughout every country of the continent, but particularly in the Balkans and Russia. The Greeks were the first to receive the waves of Enlightenment and revolutionary ideology from Europe. Influenced by the French revolution Fereos Rhigas, who lived in Vienna, drew up a republican Constitution for the Balkan countries and made preparations for an uprising. But the Austrians gave him over to the Turks and he was executed.

The liberation movement was largely affected by the Russo-Turkish Wars and the Austro-Turkish Wars which shifted to the Balkans; these conflicts lasted for a long time with varying success. Thus in two wars (1683-1699 and 1716-1719) the famous Austrian commander, Eugene Savoy, drove the Turks out of Hungary, Transylvania and part of Serbia. The peace treaty of 1719 gave Austria Northern Serbia including Belgrade, the western part of the Principality of Wallachia, and Northern Bosnia. It would seem that the Haps-

burg Empire had a firm foothold in the Balkans. But during the war of 1737-1739 luck turned against the Austrians and they had to give up almost all of their possessions there.

In 1711 a comparatively small force of Russian troops entered Moldavia but were surrounded by a Turkish army three times their number as well as the cavalry of the Khan of Crimea. This Russian expedition was unsuccessful and Peter the Great had to make considerable concessions to the enemy to secure the return of the Russian troops.

The decisive turning-point in Russia's favour came only during the 1768-1774 war when under the command of Rumyantsev, Suvorov and Potyomkin the Russian army defeated numerically superior Turkish forces in a series of heavy battles. Moldavia and Walachia were occupied and the people there expressed the desire to become Russian subjects. The Russian troops then crossed the Danube and began fighting on Bulgarian soil. The Baltic Fleet completed the long and difficult journey round to the Mediterranean and there off the Greek coast at Chesma destroyed and burned a powerful Turkish naval force.

In 1774 Russia signed a victorious peace at the village of Kuchuk Kainarji. This solved three problems for Russia. It guaranteed the security of the country's southern borders and consequently the large and rapidly developing region of the Black Sea Coast; it opened the Black Sea for Russian trade; and it strengthened Russian influence in the Caucasus and in the Balkans. The Khanate of Crimea, which had long been a stronghold of Turkish aggression, was declared independent and a few years later became part of the Russian state. This ended the permanent threat of Turkish invasion of Russia's southern borderlands, which were rapidly becoming populated. Turkey recognized the right of ships flying the Russian flag to sail freely on the Black Sea and pass through the straits into the Mediterranean. Russia received the right of protection over the Danubian principalities and of intervention on behalf of the Christians living in the Ottoman Empire. This made the first breach in the seemingly indestructible wall of Turkish domination in South-Eastern Europe.

The treaty touched upon various sides of Russo-Balkan relations, not just state and political ties, but also religious and cultural matters. Russia had adopted Eastern Orthodox Christianity from Greece in 988 and this was the same

religion practised by the vast majority in the Balkans. Here too lived the Southern Slavs—Bulgars, Serbs, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Herzegovinians and Croats—whose language and culture were similar to those of Russia. The Ottoman yoke was looked upon in Russia as the power of a different religion over other peoples who were kinsmen. Many men of culture and the Church, who had been forced to flee the Balkans, had found refuge in Russia. From Moscow and Kiev books were sent to South-Eastern Europe in the Slavic languages together with manuscripts and later printed matter that would help the Balkans maintain their language and culture. This was most valuable for those who had lost their independence and a pledge for their future renaissance. Their liberation movement was given wide public support in Russia.

The tangible result of the numerous Russo-Turkish wars was the gradual undermining of the power of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, and this helped to bring about the liberation of the local peoples. On the historical role of Russia in the Balkans William Ewart Gladstone wrote: "Unquestionably, Russia is the protector of the Slavs; she has earned by great sacrifices the title to protect them; to all appearances she has offered them a service as splendid and durable as ever was conferred by a great state on an oppressed and unhappy people."*

Russia's exit into the Black Sea and its active participation in Balkan affairs had consequences that were important for the whole of Europe. Anglo-Russian relations, which had once been good, now worsened. During the war of 1787-1791 the British Prime Minister, William Pitt the Younger, began to equip an armada of 36 battleships for military action against Russia in the Baltic. He also put pressure on Sweden to join in the war against Russia. However, the British Parliament refused to accept such a sharp change in its political course and Pitt was forced to renounce his plans. But this was the beginning of a policy in the Balkans and the Near East, which has gone down in history under the name of "preserving the status-quo", in other words preserving Ottoman power in the region.

* *Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, third series, 1878, Vol. 237, Published by Cornelius Buck, London, 1878, p. 1367.*

The Sublime Porte was looked upon by England as a convenient guardian of the Black Sea straits and a barrier against Russian expansion into the Balkans. But the main thing that the English government achieved by this policy was securing the sea routes to India which went across the Mediterranean. Although English fears that Russia intended to seize the "pearl of the British crown" were groundless, since Petersburg was not planning to go to war with Britain, Anglo-Russian contradictions became the pivot of international relations in the Balkans.

At the same time as Great Britain was moving from co-operation to conflict with Russia, the Austrian Empire was undergoing a similar evolution. The Russian penetration of the Balkans was looked upon in Vienna as a threat to its positions in the region and a real danger to its own plans for becoming firmly established there. Ruling circles in Vienna were extremely sensitive to the process which began in the 19th century of resurrecting the national states of South-Eastern Europe. Millions of Serbs and Rumanians lived in the Hapsburg possessions. The appearance on the map of Europe of the principalities of Serbia and Rumania (as the Danubian principalities were called after their unification which took place between 1859 and 1862) was considered a bad example to the other "loyal subjects". Not without justification fears arose that there would be increasing pull from other Serbs and Rumanians in the Hapsburg Empire for unification with their kinsmen in the national states.

Thus two great powers, Britain and Austria, became the protectors of the Ottoman Empire, wanting it to remain firmly in control of its Balkan possessions and strongly opposed to attempts by the oppressed peoples to liberate themselves.

It was thus hardly surprising that the sympathies of the Balkan peoples were all on the side of Russia. Local volunteers took part in all the latter's wars with Turkey and in the 19th century these wars coincided with a powerful upsurge of the liberation movement.

In 1804 the Serbs revolted. The uprising was led by George Petrovic, known by the name of Karageorge, and has gone down in history as the First Serbian Uprising, though in scale, length and determination on the part of the insurrectionists it had importance for the whole of the Balkans. In 1806 a new Russo-Turkish War broke out, and in it the Rus-

sian troops fought side by side with the insurrectionists. In May 1812, faced with the inevitable Napoleonic invasion, Russia hurriedly signed the Treaty of Bucharest with Turkey. This, incidentally, was signed by the same General Kutuzov, who several months later led the Russian army to defeat Napoleon's "Army of Twenty Languages", as it was called, on account of the fact that among Napoleon's forces were people from twenty European nations.

By the terms of the Treaty of Bucharest and in accordance with the will of the local people, the territory between the Dniester and the Prut (known as Bessarabia) became part of the Russian Empire as did certain areas in the Caucasus. The sultan was pledged to recognize the independence of the Serbian lands and cease interfering in their internal affairs.

But this promise was forgotten as soon as the Russian army moved north to meet the advancing Napoleonic hordes. Taking advantage of the Russian withdrawal from the Balkans, the Turks defeated the insurrectionists in 1813. But the Serbs rose up again two years later under Milos Obrenovic. This time, as a result of Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo and fears that Russia would not permit a second attack on the Serbs, the Sublime Porte gave a verbal recognition of their right to independence, but was in no hurry to sign a treaty, let alone implement it. For several years Russian diplomats tried to get a proper instrument from the sultan as well as respect for the rights of Russian traders as included in the Treaty of Bucharest, but to no avail.

The National Liberation Revolutions. Meanwhile the Balkans were far from peaceful. The *Philike Hetairia* (Friendly Society), which had been founded in Odessa in 1814, began an uprising in 1821 with the aim of overthrowing Turkish power in Greece. At the same time an uprising began in Walachia led by Tudor Vladimirescu.

Tsar Alexander I, who attended the Congress of the Holy Alliance, looked upon both these insurrections in the spirit of the doctrines of that reactionary organization as an uprising of subjects against their legitimate monarch. With his sanction the Turks occupied Walachia and the uprising was put down.

The Greek revolution was met with great enthusiasm in Russia. Hundreds of Russian volunteers joined the insurrec-

tionists. Russian diplomats tried to get the joint efforts of the European countries to force the Turks to make concessions to the Greeks, but without success. Meanwhile, after their initial victories, the insurrectionists met with a string of failures, which were in no small part due to conflicts among themselves. Sultan Mahmud II brought in reinforcements from the Egyptian Pasha, Muhammed Ali, and the position of the Greeks became critical. Another Russo-Turkish War threatened. At that moment the British Foreign Secretary, George Canning, fearing that Russia would strengthen its positions in the Balkans, intervened. In April 1826 an agreement was reached between Britain and Russia on joint action to bring about the "appeasement of Greece" and in the following years this was also signed by France. Wishing to put pressure on the Porte, the three powers sent their fleets into Greek waters. In October 1827 the powerful Turkish-Egyptian fleet was defeated at the Battle of Navarino. But even this did not help. Stamboul still refused to recognize the existence of the Greek state.

In April 1828 another Russo-Turkish War broke out. In the first campaign the Russians were unable to get the upper hand, but the second campaign was completely successful. In summer 1829 the main Turkish forces were defeated and taken prisoner. Adrianople was taken and Cossack units appeared outside Stamboul.

The Peace of Adrianople and the Period of Reform in the Balkans. In September 1829 a peace treaty was signed at Adrianople. This was a major landmark in the history of the Balkan peoples. It provided for the expansion and strengthening of the autonomy of the Danubian principalities; the pulling down of the Turkish fortresses on the left bank of the Danube and the withdrawal of the garrisons from there; the paying of a comparatively small tribute to the Ottoman treasury by the principalities; the forming of national armed forces; and the recognition by the Sublime Porte of the reforms carried out in Moldavia and Walachia. In an international instrument the Turkish government affirmed Serbia's right to self-government and undertook to recognize the independence of Greece. But another three years passed before the three powers—Britain, Russia and France—having undertaken the role of protectors of Hellas, reached agree-

ment on the formation of an independent Kingdom of Greece within narrow territorial limits (on the continent these ran from the southern tip of the Balkan Peninsula to the Volos-Arta line).

Political, economic and cultural life seethed in the three states. Organic Statutes were introduced in the Danubian principalities – the first Constitutions in their histories. The administration was organized, a system of courts and local self-government set up and certain limitations were imposed on the prerogatives of the *hospodars* or princes. But the main question, the question of land, was settled in favour of the boyar-landowners. The overwhelming majority of the population took no part as before in political life, while the peasants were burdened with feudal dues.

The history of subsequent decades was a continuous chain of demonstrations by the new-born bourgeoisie and the small landowners combined with peasant uprisings in the villages against the arbitrariness and overbearing rule of the princes and the “great boyars”.

The revolution of 1848 found a warm response in the Danubian principalities. In Moldavia the people demanded the removal of the hospodar and the implementation of democratic reforms. In Walachia the movement developed into a genuine revolution. The prince was overthrown, a provisional government was formed, the boyars’ ranks were abolished and equal rights for all citizens were introduced. But the provisional government ran into resistance from the landowners and was unable to satisfy the demands of the peasants for land, and this alienated a large mass of the population from the revolution. After Turkish and Russian troops entered the country, the movement was put down.

The 1830s and 1840s were marked by a rise in culture in the principalities. Newspapers and magazines were published, the Rumanian literary language became established and the ideas of the Enlightenment were promoted by Ion Heliade-Radulescu and Vasile Alecsandri. Two important political figures, Mihail Kogalniceanu and Nicolae Balcescu, published serious historical studies. The latter was an important representative of revolutionary democracy.

Similar processes took place in Serbia. The absolutist behaviour of Prince Milos Obrenovic aroused the opposition of those who worked for strict observance of the Constitution.

Their struggle took place over a long period with no side getting the upper hand, but eventually the latter succeeded in getting legislative restrictions placed on the prince's prerogatives. Against this stormy political background the Serbo-Croatian literary language was formed and a national culture emerged. Here great services were performed by the prominent enlightener, Vuk Karadzic.

Meanwhile Greece's foreign "protectors" were concerned not only to establish a monarchy, but to find a king for the country. They found one in the person of Prince Otto of Bavaria, who immediately imposed his dictatorship in the country. This resulted in a political struggle to limit his power and in 1843 after a series of revolutionary actions this aim was achieved — Prince Otto sanctioned a Constitution.

Even though the foundations of states had been laid for the Serbs and the Greeks, the national question still remained important, since many of their compatriots continued to live abroad: there were Greeks in Turkey and Serbs in Turkey and Austria. For them the Principality of Serbia and the Kingdom of Greece became the centres of gravity. In 1814 Ilija Garasanin drew up a plan to unite the South Slav lands behind the principality and the Obrenovic dynasty in which hegemony was given to the Serbian bourgeoisie. At the same time among the Greeks there matured the Megalithic Idea of uniting all the Hellenes, who lived outside the borders of the kingdom, but formed a stable and unquestionable majority. In the Danubian principalities the idea of their unification was reflected in the Unionist movement. The ease with which the 1848 revolution was put down in Walachia, gave the movement new stimuli. The unionists saw the road to progress to lie in uniting the two closely related peoples that lived in the principalities into a comparatively large and strong Rumanian state.

The Sublime Porte. The Hatt-i-Sherif of Gulhane. Even Turkey itself did not stand outside the process of reform. Continual defeats in the wars with Russia forced the Turkish government to think about renewing its army on the European model, though this met with fierce resistance from the janissaries. In 1826 Sultan Mahmud II put down a janissary rebellion with true janissary brutality and then disbanded the force. At the same time the pressure of the liberation move-

ment increased as did the separatism of the pashas, the most dangerous of whom were the Albanian rulers, Ali Pasha Tepeleni and Mustafa Bushati. During the 1830s and 1840s Muhammed Ali of Egypt, who had previously been the sultan's ally, became his rival and put the whole existence of the empire on the edge of an abyss. All this served as a stimulus for change. The reformers, who were led by Mustafa Reshid Pasha, realized that if there was to be renaissance of the country, then there had to be a renewal of social, economic and political life and a strengthening of the power of the Sublime Porte in South-Eastern Europe and in the Near East. In 1839 the Hatt-i-sherif of Gulhane was proclaimed. It contained a fairly sound programme of change, guaranteeing security of life, honour and property; providing for the unhampered disposal of property; regulating taxes; and proclaiming equality before the law of Muslims and people of other faiths, particularly Christians. Attempting a rapprochement with Great Britain, Reshid Pasha concluded a trade agreement in 1838 with that country, which opened the markets of the Ottoman Empire for the unimpeded import of English goods. This decision put great obstacles in the way of industrial development in Turkey itself.

The proclamation of the Hatt-i-sherif of Gulhane formally brought to an end the situation in which the *rayah* (non-Muslims) were without rights. But this was only in words, for the act provided no guarantees that the laws would be upheld, and in Turkey there were powerful supporters of the old order, who would have nothing to do with any so-called equality with the infidels. The hopes of the reformers that the new laws would help stop the state from coming apart at the seams were not destined to come true. Centrifugal forces continued to grow; the leaders of the liberation movements saw the future in terms of forming independent states on the peninsula. The abolition of the military feudal system of land tenure helped the economic development of the Bulgarian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian lands, which were far more advanced in their development than the Turkish regions. In Bulgaria the desire for enlightenment grew apace. Schools appeared where children were taught in their own language and this was a powerful means to strengthen national self-consciousness. The Turkish punitive forces dealt with the individual armed demonstrations with comparative ease, but

they could not crush the Bulgarian spirit, which was strengthening in the schools and in the press. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church had no independent organization, but was subordinate to the Greek patriarch of Constantinople. All the higher ecclesiastical posts in the Bulgarian Church were held by Greeks. The movement in Bulgaria to form their own autocephalic Church testifies to the growing level of national consciousness in the country.

The Balkan Countries in the 1860s and 1870s. The Crimean War (1853-1856) directly affected the Balkan peoples, for during the first stage hostilities took place on the Danube. The initial hopes of the Serbs, Bulgars and Greeks that the war would bring some alleviation of their lot were not fulfilled. Russia was defeated and the western allies waged that war so as to maintain the power of the Ottoman Empire in her possessions, hoping to lord it over there without impediment. The peace signed in Paris left Russia in a difficult position. It was forced to surrender its special rights in relation to the Christians in the Ottoman Empire and its protection of Serbia and the Danubian principalities. This protection was replaced by a collective guarantee from all the great powers. But none of them dared to flout the autonomous rights of Moldavia, Walachia and Serbia or the independence of Greece. Nor did the plans of the Sublime Porte to strengthen its power in the Balkans come to fruition. After a bitter struggle the Danubian principalities achieved unification and from 1859 to 1862 a united Rumania was formed and Alexandru Ioan Cuza was put on the throne. But he did not reign long. The agrarian reform of 1864 which he passed was too radical for the conservative landowners. In 1866 he was deposed and the Rumanian throne was taken by a nobleman from an offshoot of the Prussian royal house, Carol Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.

After a long and bitter struggle the Bulgars achieved recognition for the independence of their Church. Armed uprisings against the Ottomans became more and more frequent. Tactics were changed—instead of separate actions systematic preparations began for an organized, armed uprising on a large scale. At various stages the uprising was led by G. Rakovsky, L. Karavelov, V. Levsky, and Kh. Botev with help from Bulgarian emigres in Russia, Rumania and Serbia.

The officers of the future insurrection army were trained in Belgrade.

Serbia became the centre of gravity of the anti-Ottoman forces among the South Slavs. Serbian agents were sent into Bosnia and Herzegovina to prepare armed uprisings in the name of unification with the principality. Clashes with the Turks on the borders of Montenegro were almost permanent, as the brave local warriors defended the independence of their country.

In Greece the movement grew for unification with the lands still under Ottoman sway. In 1862 King Otto was overthrown and a Constitution adopted which increased civil rights for the population of the country. Then the Ionian Islands, which had formerly been a British colony, were accepted into the kingdom in keeping with the desire expressed by their inhabitants.

In 1866 and 1867 there was an uprising on Crete, which was mainly inhabited by Greeks, whose purpose was *enosis*, that is, unification with the mainland. But this was eventually put down by the Turks, though not without difficulty.

In 1867 an attempt was made to unify the Balkans for the struggle against the Sublime Porte. An agreement was reached between Serbia, Greece and Rumania, known as the Balkan Union of 1867, but it did not bring about any concerted action. The situation at the time did not favour an open challenge to the Ottoman Empire, and furthermore the allies, each of which cherished the hope of establishing its own hegemony on the peninsula, did not trust each other.

By the end of the 1860s there was still no peace in South-Eastern Europe. The empire of the sultan was coming apart at the seams, and only five more years was left to wait until the final explosion – the eastern crisis of 1875-1878.

Chapter XXVI

POLAND IN 1650-1880

The Political and Economic Development of the Polish Lands. In the mid-17th century the Polish state – Rzecz Pospolita – was the largest state in Europe after Russia. It stretched from the Baltic Sea in the North to the Carpathians in the South and from the Dnieper in the East to the Oder in the West. Its geographical area was approximately 990,000 sq km and its population more than 10 million, only fifty per cent of whom were actually Poles. The Eastern provinces, which had been annexed as a result of feudal wars, were populated by Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians.

The political system of Poland was unique, since there had been no development of an estate monarchy into an absolutist monarchy. The democratic liberties of the Polish gentry (*szlachta*) which had been established in the country, served as a cover for the increasingly strong oligarchy of the magnates (major feudal lords). The “liberties” enjoyed by the *szlachta* – the right to elect the king, to refuse to obey him, to form opposition groups (confederations) and to veto the decisions of the Sejm (the parliament in which representation was according to estate) – resulted in political anarchy and the frustration of all plans for political, social and economic reform.

In the countryside the corvée system was predominant. The peasants were forced to work several days a week on their master’s land and perform other duties. As the large estate expanded and the feudal lord’s power grew stronger, the peasants began to have less and less land and, burdened as they were with tithes and dues, became virtual serfs. This resulted in a decline in agricultural production. The domination of the magnates and the *szlachta* undermined trade and

the crafts, held up the growth of the towns and the formation of an internal market and impeded the development of capitalism.

This increased exploitation worsened the social conflict. In 1651 a large peasant uprising took place in the South of Poland, while a powerful national liberation movement among the Ukrainians led by Bogdan Khmelnytsky flared up between 1648 and 1654. It ended with the reunification of the left-bank Ukraine with Russia.

The social and national conflicts led to internal instability in the Rzecz Pospolita. A protracted economic crisis coupled with political anarchy and made worse by financial and military weakness, did nothing to improve Poland's international position. By the mid-17th century it had lost Silesia (these western Polish lands passed first to Austria and then to Prussia). For the next seventy years Poland was engaged in continual warfare. It was frequently occupied by Sweden and had to fight off invasions by the Ottoman Turks and the Crimean Khanate. In 1683 the Polish King Jan Sobieski defeated the Turks outside Vienna in a coalition with Austria and Russia. These countries began to have great influence on the foreign and domestic policy of Poland as it grew weaker. Furthermore, France, Turkey, Sweden and the rapidly growing Prussia also began to interfere in Poland's affairs. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries a large part of the Polish coastline was under Prussian control, becoming like Silesia the object of German colonization and assimilation.

Poland only began to pull out its deep crisis and decline in the 1740s, a period which saw a rise in economic growth. This growth was aided by the reforms which were designed to do away with feudal anarchy and strengthen the hand of the central authorities. These reforms were carried out by a section of the more progressive szlachta, supported by the last Polish King, Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski. The reforms allowed the development of capitalist relations in the towns and villages. They were first implemented during the 1760s and ten years later widely expanded under the influence of the French revolution. The Four-Year Sejm, which lasted from 1788 to 1792, adopted the Constitution of May 3, 1791, which reflected the progressive aspirations of the szlachta-bourgeois reformers.

The Partition of Poland. The National Liberation Movement. These reforms were, however, opposed by the magnates and some of the szlachta and this resulted in the conflict between the Bar and Radom confederations, which lasted from 1768 to 1772. The situation was made worse by the peasant war in the Ukraine, known as the *Koliivshchina*. The forces of internal reaction now united with the forces of foreign reaction in their struggle to oppose reform. The intervention of neighbouring states led to the first partition of Poland in 1772. Part of the country's territory was annexed by Russia, Prussia and Austria. In 1793 when the Targowici Confederation called Russia and Prussia in to help them, these powers carried out the second partition of Poland. The armed uprising of the patriotic szlachta in 1794 under Tadeusz Kosciuszko was caused by the second partition of Poland.

Tadeusz Kosciuszko studied in France where he became imbued with the ideas of the enlighteners. This love of freedom led him to take part in the American revolution. Kosciuszko tried to get social reform implemented in Poland, but all the majority of the szlachta wanted was the restoration of Poland to its former borders. The szlachta frustrated the implementation of even that moderate programme with which the leaders of the uprising had appealed to the peasants. Without the active support of the masses the uprising could not be victorious. Its defeat led to the third and final partition of Poland between Prussia, Russia and Austria. In 1795 the Rzecz Pospolita ceased to exist. The country's internal weakness, which was due to the peculiarities of its social and political development, made it an easy prey for aggressive neighbours.

Poland During the Napoleonic Wars. After partition Poland was shared by the absolutist reactionary monarchies, in which the feudal system predominated. And this situation was not changed by the new partitions which continued into the era of the Napoleonic Wars. In pursuit of his own political goals, Napoleon tried to use the Poles as a military force. At first he had Polish legions fighting for France and then a whole Polish army. In 1807 on that part of Poland that had been cleared of the Prussians the Principality of Warsaw was set up. In 1809 this was enlarged with the annexation of some

of the Polish provinces that had been under Austrian rule. The Napoleonic Codes were made law in the principality. The peasants were given their freedom. The principality, which continued, albeit in a deformed way, the tradition of Polish statehood in so far as it possessed a national administration and army, was important for the development of Polish culture and the growth of national self-consciousness among the Polish people.

After Napoleon's defeat in the war with Russia and later by the coalition of European states, a change took place in the territorial and state structure of Europe. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the Polish lands were again partitioned. The western part of Poland—Silesia and coastal and Poznan areas went to Prussia; the southern provinces of Teschen Silesia and Galicia (whose centre, Krakow, had the status of a "free city" until 1848) went as previously to Austria; but the largest part of Poland was made the Kingdom of Poland and united with Russia.

The Kingdom of Poland. The Russian Tsar became the King of Poland, but exercised his power there through a governor on the basis of the Constitution of the autonomous kingdom. However, the autonomous rights of the Poles were increasingly violated by the tsar. Increasing discontent led to an uprising in 1830, but this was put down the following year and the country's autonomy abolished. The uprising showed that as previously the szlachta was opposed to social change and afraid of revolution. It was this that brought the uprising down.

The close links between the national liberation movement in the country and the agrarian revolution was understood by the Polish revolutionary democrats, whose views were akin to those of the utopian socialists. A member of this group, Edward Dembowski, brought out during the Polish uprising in Krakow in 1846 a programme for radical social change which was designed to achieve bourgeois-democratic objectives. Dembowski tried to propagate his views among the peasants so as to get the people involved in the struggle for the freedom of Poland. But he was killed when Austrian troops put down the Krakow revolution. Alarmed at the antifeudal actions of the peasants, the szlachta began to spread ideas of class solidarity and "moderate" revolution. The defeat of the

Poznan uprising of 1848 in the Polish lands which were under Prussian rule, was due to the same causes.

The last armed uprising to take place during the period when the szlachta themselves were in favour of a "moderate" revolution occurred in 1863 in the Kingdom of Poland. It was the longest uprising and involved the largest number of people in the history of the Polish uprisings. The involvement of the peasants in the uprising was largely due to the work of the members of the left revolutionary-democratic wing of the insurrectionists. They tried to implement the agrarian decrees that were proclaimed by the insurrectionist government and develop the revolutionary initiative of the people. But once again it was that part of the szlachta that wanted to contain the struggle within defined limits and make it simply an armed demonstration of the "Polish spirit" which ultimately prevailed. Their hopes for support from the western powers were futile and the people were unwilling to fight for alien interests. The uprising was put down in 1864.

The development of the Polish people from the late 18th century to the 1870s was in large part determined by the national liberation struggle. This struggle did not bring independence to Poland, but the governments of the states which had partitioned the Polish lands were forced to introduce reforms which did away with the foundations of the feudal agrarian system — in Galicia in 1848 and in the Kingdom of Poland in 1864. These reforms made it possible for capitalism to develop more rapidly and in all three parts of Poland the process went according to the Prussian way, as it was called, although each of the three parts had its own specific characteristics. The rates of social, economic and political development largely depended on the policy zigzags of the Prussian, Austrian and Russian governments, but the process was also further complicated by the division of a single ethnic territory, the absence of a national Polish state and the presence of foreign powers.

The Formation of the Polish Nation. These factors had a powerful effect on the formation of the Polish nation. In the absence of a unified economic system and a common national market, features which are usually found in a single nation, the dominant integrating role in the formation of the Polish nation was played by national ideology. And here it

was cultural, linguistic and religious (the Catholic Church) traditions as well as remembrance of the country's former statehood which had the deepest influence on the growth of Polish national self-awareness. A firm foundation for the development of national culture in modern times had been laid in the second half of the 18th century by the Polish enlighteners. King Stanislas Augustus patronized literature and the arts and Polish and foreign artists worked at his court. The greatest Polish poets, Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Slowacki, both emigres, devoted their works to their country and its struggle for freedom. Frédéric Chopin, who was also an emigre living in France, was passionately patriotic. The "need to serve the nation" characterized the works of many of the great figures in Polish culture, who all showed the greatest civic spirit, patriotism and love of their people.

The Polish nation developed in close contact with the peoples of Russia, Austria and Prussia. The sons of partitioned and oppressed Poland were responsive to all manifestations of the struggle for freedom. During 1848 Poles took part in the revolutionary events in many European countries. There was particularly close cooperation in the struggle for freedom between the Poles and the Russians. This was most clearly shown in the uprising of 1863-1864. Russian revolutionaries organized the uprising together with their Polish comrades-in-arms and then fought together with them against tsarism. Poles played an active role in the Carbonari organizations and in the Young Europe revolutionary organization. When in 1864, on the basis of the solidarity shown by the European proletariat towards the Polish uprising, the First International was formed, the Poles gave it their warm support. One of its prominent figures was Walery Wroblewski, who actively participated in Marx's and Engels' struggle against opportunism in the international working class movement. Many Polish members of the International fought at the barricades of the Paris Commune in 1871 and died there. These included Jaroslaw Dombrowski, who commanded the Commune's forces.

Chapter XXVII

THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM FROM 1600 TO 1870

The Netherlands

The Independent State of Holland. The Development of Capitalism. In the early 17th century the bourgeois revolution was victorious in the seven northern provinces of Holland. This revolution put an end to Spanish feudal oppression and cleared the path for the Netherlands (or the United Provinces as they now were called) to become “the head capitalist nation of the 17th century”. * The newly formed state with its territory of 25,000 sq km and its population of 2 million was proclaimed a republic. Formally the highest body in the Republic of the United Provinces was officially the States-General (Parliament), in which each of the seven provinces had one vote and could exercise the right of veto. But in practice decisions were made by the State Council, which was composed of members of the commercial and financial oligarchy, at the head of which stood the House of the Princes of Orange.

Capitalist production, particularly the textile industry, developed rapidly in the new state, as did fishing and shipbuilding. By the mid-17th century the Dutch fleet made up three-fifths of the total number of European ships.

In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was founded and it rapidly monopolized trade with South-East Asia and the Far East. In 1621 another Dutch company of similar size was formed — the Dutch West India Company. The areas of trade for this organization were America and West Africa.

Before the 1660s the Dutch colonies and Dutch trade were protected by a powerful navy and could ensure the success of

* Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 704.

the rich Dutch bourgeoisie and the embourgeoisified nobility. Shameless plunder of the colonies (during the first half of the 17th century the Dutch built fortified trading posts in India, established themselves in Java and other Indonesian islands and took Ceylon, Malacca, the Moluku (Spice) Islands and Taiwan) profitable trade and brutal exploitation of the working population in the Dutch towns and villages made it possible to concentrate enormous amounts of capital in the hands of the ruling classes. In 1609 they founded the Bank of Amsterdam, which soon became a major international centre for financial operations. During this period a particular section of the Dutch bourgeoisie emerged that began to put their capital in operation. These financial barons made vast fortunes lending money to other countries. During the 1780s, for example, Britain alone paid the Netherlands 8 million guildens annually as interest on its debts.

But the Navigation Act of 1651, which was passed by Oliver Cromwell in England, dealt a serious blow to Dutch merchant trade, as did the wars with England in 1652-1654, 1665-1667 and 1672-1674, and the wars with France in 1667-1668 and 1672-1678. They seriously undermined the Dutch economy and marked the beginning of the weakening of that country's role in international affairs. The country was then hit by a general economic slump which caused unemployment on an unprecedented scale in towns and the impoverishment of a large part of the peasantry and the small landowners. This only made the social and economic contradictions worse.

The 1770s saw a great increase in mass demonstrations in Holland and as a result the formation of a bourgeois party of patriots, whose basic demand was to establish control over the State Council and its representatives in the provinces. By the end of the century a conflict broke out between this party, which on the whole expressed the interests of the democratic section of the bourgeoisie, and the "Orangists", who represented the nobility and the clergy grouped around the House of Orange.

The Batavian Republic. In spring 1793 the nobility and the clergy, headed by William V of Orange, plunged the country into war against revolutionary France. But Dutch participation in the war was extremely unpopular among the people,

who looked upon the Dutch financial barons and the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, not the craftsmen and peasants of France, as their enemies. Therefore, when the French invaded Holland in January 1795 and among their forces was the Batavian battalion, comprised of Dutch emigre-patriots, they were enthusiastically welcomed by the people. William V and many of his supporters fled to England, and the United Provinces was renamed the Batavian Republic after the Batavians who in ancient times had inhabited the Netherlands.

The military and political alliance signed on May 16, 1795 at The Hague by representatives of the Batavian Republic and France meant that the Netherlands gradually turned, to all intents and purposes, into a domain of the wealthy French bourgeoisie. In May 1806 the Batavian Republic became the Kingdom of Holland and Louis Bonaparte, a brother of Napoleon, was put on the throne. In July 1810 the formal independence of the kingdom was ended, when Napoleon issued a decree making Holland part of the French Empire.

The Netherlands After the Congress of Vienna. The defeat of the French in Russia resulted in the withdrawal of their troops from Dutch territory and the restoration of the country's national independence. The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) decided to unite Belgium and the Netherlands into one kingdom with William of Orange (the son of William I), who was strongly supported by the English, put on the throne. In the new United Kingdom of the Netherlands the Dutch bourgeoisie seized the dominant positions in the government, the army and the judiciary.

But the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which was created by the victorious powers without accounting for the interests of either the people of Belgium or the Netherlands, did not last long. By 1830 Belgium had gained independence through a revolution which engulfed all the Belgian provinces. The Kingdom of the Netherlands now became a one-nationality state with the exception of a small number of Flemish and Friesians.

The 1848 Constitution. In 1839 a Liberal Party was formed in the country. It fought for a review of the Constitution of 1815, by which all power was given to King William I of

Orange. As a result of its campaign against the Constitution, William I abdicated on October 7, 1840 in favour of his son, William II.

In 1844 the leader of the Liberal Party, Jan Rudolf Thorbecke, a professor of constitutional law at Leyden University, drafted a new Constitution, which limited the power of the king and extended the rights of the States-General. But Thorbecke's draft was fiercely opposed by William II and rejected by the conservative majority of noble and clerical deputies in the upper chamber of the States-General. Only four years later was William II, under pressure from the mass demonstrations which began in March 1848 in The Hague, Amsterdam and other cities, forced to agree to the new Constitution.

The Constitution of 1848, which the bourgeoisie with the support of the working people forced from the king, was a significant step forward in comparison with the Constitution of 1815. Henceforth the ministries were no longer responsible to the king, but to the States-General. The powers of the latter were extended. They were given control over state finances and the administration of the colonies as well as the right to make changes in draft legislation. The state budget was subject to annual discussion. The upper chamber of 39 was no longer to be appointed by the king for life, but was to be elected for a nine-year term by the provincial parliaments from among their wealthiest tax payers. The 67-deputy lower chamber was to be elected by direct vote by those who paid taxes of over 20 florins in the villages and 160 florins in the towns. Thus the 1848 Constitution took a considerable amount of power away from the king and gave it to the rich bourgeoisie.

The Workers' Movement. The condition of the working people remained as hard as before. Unemployment increased in the towns and many workers were forced to emigrate to neighbouring countries. And the situation in the villages was no better. The capitalist reorganization of agriculture, orientated on the export of butter and cheese, forced the small holders off their lands, which were then turned over into pasture.

The workers' movement in Holland began to form during the 1850s. In 1850 one of the first workers' unions was or-

ganized in Amsterdam—the Diamond-Cutters' Union. Between 1861 and 1862 a number of printing workers' unions were formed and in 1866 these joined together into a single General Netherlands Printing Workers' Union. In 1871 the General Netherlands Workers' Union was formed. The creation in 1868 of a section of the First International in Amsterdam was of great importance for the Dutch proletariat.

Belgium

The Belgian Provinces Under Austrian Rule. The Treaty of Rastatt in 1714, which was one of the treaties that put an end to the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), took Belgium (then known as the Spanish Netherlands) from Spain and gave it to the Austrian Hapsburgs.

The Belgian provinces, or as they came to be called, the Austrian Netherlands, became an object of plunder and brutal exploitation on the outskirts of the vast Hapsburg Empire. They were ruled by an Austrian Lieutenant-Governor with dictatorial powers.

Foreign oppression and plunder by the local powers resulted in peasant and artisan uprisings, particularly during the 1780s. These uprisings were brutally put down by the Austrians.

In 1787 a broad anti-Austrian national front was formed in Belgium, consisting mainly of the peasants and the urban poor. The front was headed by members of the two bourgeois parties which had been formed during the eighties. These were the Liberal Party, led by Jean Francois Vonck, which represented the middle and petty urban bourgeoisie, and the Conservative Party, led by Van der Noot, a lawyer and a member of the Brabant parliament. The Conservative Party was supported by the big landowners, the higher clergy and the guilds. The members of these parties were known by the names of their leaders—the Vonckists and the Nootists. Brabant, one of the most developed of the Belgian provinces, became from the beginning the centre of the anti-Austrian front.

The French revolution of 1789 had enormous influence on the development of the anti-Austrian movement in Belgium.

A large number of Belgians joined the volunteer army, which was formed in September 1789 in the Dutch border town of Breda. On the night of October 23-24, 1789 the Belgian volunteer army, led by its revolutionary committee, crossed the border into Belgium in the region of Torgau and began the liberation of the province of Brabant, where the population rose up against the Austrians.

As a result of the Brabant revolution in December 1789 almost the whole territory of Belgium, with the exception of Antwerpen and the Province of Luxembourg, were freed from Austrian occupation. On January 11, 1790 a National Congress of the nine liberated provinces met in Brussels and proclaimed the formation of an independent Belgian United States.

Power in the country was in the hands of the economically strong Conservative Party, the Nootists. Attempts by the Vonckists to increase the representation in the National Congress of the urban deputies were fiercely resisted by the Nootists. This internal political conflict weakened the newly formed Belgian state, and this situation was exploited by Austria. In December 1790 a 30,000-strong Austrian army invaded Belgium and restored the power of the Hapsburgs.

France's Annexation of Belgium. By the end of 1792 the Belgian provinces had become the scene of bitter fighting between the forces of revolutionary France and Austria, a member of the First Anti-French Coalition. With the support of the Belgian population the French drove the Austrians out of Belgium and from December 1792 to March 1793 held the country under their control. But the defeat of the French at the Battle of Neerwinden allowed the Austrians to return to Belgium. In July 1794 they were driven out again by the French and on October 1, 1795 the Thermidor Convention passed a decree making the Belgian provinces part of France.

This annexation of the Belgian provinces was undoubtedly significant for their economic development, since it resulted in the abolition of the feudal system, the seizure of Church lands and a weakening of the influence of the Catholic priesthood. The late 18th and early 19th centuries saw growth in Belgian industry, particularly the cotton, textile, glass and metallurgical industries. But Napoleon's continuous wars

and the endless need for recruitment and increased taxation that these caused served to impede this growth and gave rise to considerable discontent among the Belgians.

Belgium After the Congress of Vienna. The collapse of the Napoleonic regime put an end to French domination in Belgium. On June 9, 1815 a decision was passed at the Congress of Vienna by which Belgium was united with the Netherlands. According to the Constitution which was adopted on August 24, 1815, the leading role in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands belonged to the retainers of King William I of Orange and the wealthy Dutch bourgeoisie. During the 1820s two bourgeois-landowner parties were formed in the Belgian provinces—the Liberal Party and the Catholic Party. In 1828 these joined together temporarily to form a united national front that fought for equal rights for the Belgians and Dutch alike and for national autonomy. But the hard-line position taken by the Dutch ruling circles towards the demands of the Belgian parties, the industrial crisis and the high cost of food combined to accelerate a revolutionary situation in Belgium.

The Bourgeois Revolution of 1830. The Formation of an Independent State. The main role in achieving a victorious revolution in 1830 in Belgium was played by the workers actively supported by the artisans and poor peasants. But the weak organization of the democratic forces resulted in power being seized by the liberal bourgeoisie, the nobility and the priesthood. On September 27, 1830 they formed a provisional coalition government, which proclaimed the separation of Belgium from the Kingdom of the Netherlands. On November 10, 1830 a National Congress was held in Brussels, which proclaimed the formation of the independent State of Belgium and drew up its Constitution.

The Belgian Constitution which came into force on February 7, 1831, endorsed the main gains of the bourgeois revolution. The country was proclaimed a constitutional monarchy with a two-chamber parliament, elected by those who were eligible to vote under a high property qualification that virtually deprived the whole working population of Belgium of electoral rights. The Constitution declared the inviolability of private property and the abolition of feudal estates and

privileges. On June 4, 1831, the National Congress elected an uncle of Queen Victoria, Leopold Saxe-Coburg, as the King of Belgium. He reigned as Leopold I from June 21, 1831 to the end of 1865.

The Belgian bourgeois revolution cleared the way for the rapid economic development of the country. Machine building and railway construction — there were almost a thousand kilometres of railway by 1850 — went ahead at a great pace and improvements were made to the textile, glass and other industries. The coal industry showed specially rapid development (in 1850 the annual output was 5.8 million tonnes, but by 1875 it had risen to 15.8 million tonnes). By the mid-19th century Belgium was one of the leading industrially developed countries in the world.

But the successes of Belgian capitalism were due to the limitless exploitation of the working people, who were not allowed to form trade unions or to strike. In 1857 one of the first Belgian proletarian organizations, the Brotherhood of Weavers, was formed in Ghent. Under its leadership the textile workers got pay increases and an end to payment in kind. During the same period the Union of Spinners and the Union of Metal Workers were also founded in Ghent. In 1860 these two organizations joined with the Brotherhood of Weavers to form the Federation of Ghent Workers. Workers' organizations also began to spring up in a number of other towns, particularly Brussels where a proletarian organization calling itself the Association of Militant Democracy was set up. Of considerable importance was the establishment of sections of the First International in the mid-1860s, which marked a new stage in the development of the Belgian proletariat.

Chapter XXVIII

THE NORTH EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (1600-1870)

Northern Europe in the 17th and 18th Centuries. In the mid-17th century there were two states in Northern Europe that geographically speaking were relatively large. These were the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark-Norway. Sweden included Finland which had long been conquered and considerable Baltic possessions which had been taken from Russia and North Germany during the Thirty Years' War. The possessions of the Danish Oldenburg dynasty covered an enormous area, including apart from Denmark proper Norway, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands and the North German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Feudalism was dominant in both states, being more developed in Denmark and in the duchies and less developed in Sweden and Norway, which was subject to the Danish crown, where for a large part of the peasantry there was no feudal dependence whatsoever. Here the majority were free and subject to feudal exploitation only in the form of state taxes and dues. In the northern countries the nobles accounted for less than 0.5 per cent of the population, one of the lowest percentages in Europe.

Due largely to close economic ties with the more developed countries in Europe – England and Holland, capitalism began to develop in Sweden and Denmark-Norway during the second half of the 17th century. Early-capitalist trading and manufacturing enterprises appeared and changes took place in the social infrastructure and the political superstructure. In 1661 Denmark-Norway became an absolutist state and later, in 1680, Sweden did the same. In Denmark absolutism lasted right through to the 19th century, but in Sweden it was discredited by Charles XII, who suffered a

crushing defeat from Russia in the Great Northern War of 1700-1721.

In the second half of the 17th century relations between Sweden and Denmark-Norway worsened due to Denmark's being unable to accept the loss of its hegemony in the Baltic. There were incessant conflicts between the two states, but at the same time they both shared a joint desire to defend their merchant shipping from the continuous wars that were taking place in Europe. At the turn of the century Denmark joined Russia and Saxony in the Northern War against Sweden. This war, which lasted for more than twenty years, resulted in Sweden's loss of its position as a "great power" and most of its possessions in the Baltic. But Denmark got virtually nothing. Under the terms of the Peace of Nystad (1721) and other peace treaties with Russia Sweden retained Finland, part of Pomerania and the German town of Wismar.

After the death of Charles XII in 1718 a semi-republican system was in existence in Sweden for a couple of years. Power in the country was in the hands of the four-estate parliament, known as the *Riksdag*, which was composed of representatives of the nobility, the clergy, the burghers and even the peasants, and a government elected by it in which the king had only two votes. Like in Britain, the *Riksdag* factions gradually formed themselves into parties according to their views on foreign and domestic policy. The two main parties were known as the Hats Party and the Caps Party. The Hats Party, who wanted military revenge for the defeat in the Northern War and looked to France for support, were so called because they wore the nobles' military headgear. Their opponents, who wanted to avoid a clash with Russia, were disparagingly referred to as the Caps, from the ordinary headgear worn by the burghers. Political life in Sweden at the time — a period known in Swedish history as the "era of freedom" — was characterized by the fact that the power of the king was severely curtailed in favour of the *Riksdag*. By the end of the 1760s the taxable classes began to call ever more loudly for equality with the nobility. The mouthpiece for these ideas was the Caps Party, which won itself a lot of support outside parliament. The forms and methods of bourgeois democracy now increasingly characterized the political scene in Sweden.

But on August 19, 1772, the young King Gustavus III with the support of the army effected a coup d'état and forced the Riksdag at gun point to approve a new Constitution. This Constitution reduced the rights of the Riksdag, strengthened the power of the king and confirmed the privileges of the nobles. The coup had the support of the nobility, who had been reluctant to give up their rights. The supporters of the coup claimed that the king had saved the country from a possible partition of the kind that had occurred in Poland, although in fact there was no threat at all to Sweden's integrity. Gustavus III carried out a number of reforms in the spirit of "enlightened absolutism", in particular removing the obstacles to internal trade and giving the peasants equal rights with the other taxable estates. This period left its clearest mark on Swedish culture, which was given considerable encouragement by Gustavus III, himself an ardent lover of the theatre and amateur playwright.

The king was forced to manoeuvre between the estates and even went so far as to expand the economic rights of the burghers and peasants allowing them to acquire crown land and even the land of the nobility. As a result he lost the support of the nobility and this led to a political crisis in the late 1780s, the solution to which he tried to find in a series of military adventures, attacking Russia in 1788. In 1789 Gustavus III carried out a second coup d'état, this time against the nobility. But in 1792 he himself fell victim to a conspiracy and died at the hands of one of the conspirators.

During the 17th century the first manufactories appeared in Denmark-Norway, initially belonging to the crown, but subsequently owned by private capitalists. Agriculture and trade developed rapidly. Denmark and the duchies began to export grain and cattle. Norway during the latter part of the 17th century began to export timber, which was the most important material for the building of the British and Dutch navies. Then Denmark-Norway made enormous profits shipping freight across the seas, especially during times of war, since it consistently remained neutral.

During the 18th century the kings turned out to be incompetent as rulers and power in Denmark-Norway virtually passed into the hands of the bureaucratic hierarchy and the ministers, who were mostly of German origin. The most colourful figure among these was Johan Frederick Struensee,

the personal physician of the feeble-minded king, Christian VII, who in the early 1770s became prime-minister. In a relatively short period he carried out a number of reforms in the spirit of enlightened absolutism, which shook Europe of the time. He cut state expenditure, introduced freedom of the press, independence of the courts and freedom for crafts and grain trade, and reduced the tithes that peasants had to pay. But in 1772 Struensee was deposed by a group of courtiers and executed, and his reforms were abolished. Denmark now became ruled by a reactionary regime.

In 1784 another palace coup put all power in the hands of Frederick, the Prince Regent, and his ministers, who continued to implement reforms, particularly in the field of agriculture. In 1788 serfdom was partially abolished and in 1800 completely. The village commune was done away with and the peasants were given the right to buy out the land they worked. All this together with a relatively liberal economic policy opened the way for the wider penetration of capitalism into the Danish economy.

In Norway, which during the 17th century had become increasingly dependent on Denmark, a national opposition was formed during the second half of the 18th century. This opposition was composed of urban bourgeois and civil servants connected with them, who had increasingly come to realize the difference between the interests of their country and those of the metropolis. Their demands were fairly moderate—the setting up of institutions that were completely Norwegian and economic autonomy. But the Norwegian peasantry were more opposed to the local bureaucrats than to the Danish throne.

During the 18th century Sweden and Denmark remained antagonistic to each other. Denmark had always supported an alliance with Russia, but particularly from 1670, whereas Sweden during the 18th century repeatedly sought revenge. From 1741 to 1743 and again from 1788 to 1790 Sweden conducted military operations against Russia, and during the Seven Years' War against Prussia. After the coup of 1772 ruling circles in Sweden toyed with the idea of annexing Norway.

But at the same time it was during the 18th century that a trend towards rapprochement appeared in relations between the Scandinavian countries, mainly due to their common

desire to run profitable merchant shipping. Thus during the American War of Independence Denmark-Norway, Sweden and Russia were the initiators of the first armed neutrality (1780). In the 1770s national liberation movements first appeared in Norway and Finland.

The Changes in the Political Map of Northern Europe at the End of the Napoleonic Wars. Sweden and Denmark-Norway did not take part in the war between England and France which began in 1793 until 1805 and 1807 respectively. Instead they made profits from trading with both warring parties. But they continued to maintain relations with revolutionary France. However, in 1805 the situation in Northern Europe changed, when the war itself spread to that region. Gustavus IV Adolphus brought Sweden into the war with France. After the Treaty of Tilsit between Russia and France radically changed the situation in Europe, North European countries came to the forefront of big-power politics. In September 1807 the English suddenly attacked the Danish capital, Copenhagen, and seized the Danish-Norwegian navy. Denmark-Norway declared war on England and concluded an alliance with Napoleon which meant its joining the continental blockade. But Norway in turn was blockaded by the English causing a cut-off in supplies of provisions. The country was threatened by famine, which caused great discontent and increased separatist feelings. As a result of the blockade it became impossible to rule Norway from Copenhagen, and so a kind of government, calling itself the Administrative Commission, was formed in the country. This lasted until 1810. In 1811 a university was opened in Oslo, which the Norwegians had long been trying to get.

In 1808 a new Russo-Swedish war broke out and this resulted in serious changes in the political map of Northern Europe. After Russian forces took the southern part of Swedish Finland, where the majority of the population lived, Alexander I announced in March 1808 that henceforth Finland would be annexed to Russia. The terms of the annexation were fairly favourable to Finland. In pursuit of his liberal policies, Alexander I gave Finland broad autonomy. In March 1809 in the small town of Porvoo (Borga) a four-estate assembly, known as the diet, was called. Finland became part of the Russian Empire as a grand duchy with its own

government, the senate, that was headed by a governor-general appointed by the Russian tsar. The Finnish budget was made separate from the Russian state budget and laws in force in the country were left as they were. In Petersburg a State-Secretariat directly responsible to the tsar was formed for governing Finland. Swedish remained the official language of the new state and the customs border with Russia was still kept. The capital of the country was moved from Abo (Turku) to Helsingfors (Helsinki). In 1812 Finland formed its own armed forces. All these changes had great positive importance, for they helped lay the foundations of the Finnish state and saved the country from ruinous wars and heavy military expenditure.

The loss of Finland and a sharp worsening of the economic situation led to increased opposition in Sweden. In early March 1809 an officers' mutiny began in the army stationed in the Norwegian border. The rebels gathered strength and moved on Stockholm. On March 13 there was an insurrection in the garrison in the capital. King Gustavus IV Adolphus was overthrown and sent into exile.

The Riksdag adopted a new Constitution which put an end to absolutism. The Constitution significantly increased parliamentary control over the government and proclaimed a number of civil liberties, but maintained the four-estate parliament without expanding its electoral corps. The childless Charles XIII, uncle of Gustavus IV Adolphus, was made king. In 1810 one of Napoleon's marshals, Jean Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, was chosen by the Riksdag as heir to the throne. He adopted the Lutheran faith and the new name of Charles Johan (from 1818 he became Charles XIV Johan). The non-noble origin of the founder of the new dynasty served to emphasize the bourgeois character of the changes that had taken place. The events of 1809-1810 in Sweden amounted to a bourgeois revolution from the top without the participation of the people and they were an important step on the road to making Sweden a bourgeois monarchy.

In September 1809 a peace treaty was concluded between Sweden and Russia at Frederikshamn (Hamina). Despite a short outburst of anti-Russian revanchist feeling, ruling circles in Sweden became increasingly convinced of the need for good neighbourly relations with Russia, with whose help Sweden wanted to effect the annexation of Norway in com-

compensation for the loss of Finland. Gustavus III and Gustavus IV Adolphus had tried to do this and Charles Johan cherished the same idea. He too tried to improve relations with Russia, thereby failing to justify the hopes that Napoleon had placed in him. In April 1812 a secret Russo-Swedish alliance was concluded in Petersburg against Napoleon. Russia agreed to the transfer of Norway to Sweden, while the latter renounced all further claim to Finland. Also considered was a joint expedition to Germany, in the rear of the Napoleonic armies. After Napoleon invaded Russia the alliance between Sweden and Russia was endorsed by the personal meeting of Alexander I and Charles Johan in the Finnish town of Abo in August 1812. Although Sweden only entered the war in spring 1813, her position was of great importance to Russia during the war with Napoleon.

In 1813 and 1814 Charles Johan was in command of one of the allied armies, which included Swedish, Russian and Prussian troops. In late 1813 he moved part of his army against Denmark, which remained loyal to Napoleon. In January 1814 a peace treaty was signed in Kiel by which Norway was yielded to the Swedes. Greenland, Iceland and the Faroe Islands, all of which had always belonged to Norway, remained with Denmark.

But the people of Norway refused to submit to the terms of the Kiel Treaty. A national liberation movement sprung up in the country, headed by a former Danish prince, Christian Frederick. In February 1814 Norway proclaimed independence and a provisional government was formed, to which all the adult population swore their loyalty. In March there were elections to the National (Constituent) Assembly, which met at Eidsvold in April. The Assembly included not only civil servants, bourgeois and intellectuals, but many peasant bondsmen and members of the armed services. On May 17 the National Assembly adopted the Constitution it had drawn up, a constitution that was fairly progressive for its time with 45 per cent of the adult male population having the right to vote and the king not being allowed to dissolve the *Storting*, or parliament and having only a delaying veto. Norway became a constitutional monarchy with a two-chamber parliament, based not on estates, but on property qualification. On the same day, May 17, Prince Christian Frederick was elected King of Norway.

But the end of the war in Europe in the spring of 1814 worsened the internal political situation in the new state. Sweden had no intention of giving up its claims. There was a short war in the summer of that year, which was the last war between the Scandinavian countries in history. Both countries accepted a compromise. Christian Frederick abdicated and returned to Denmark, Norway recognized union with Sweden and in November the Storting elected Charles XIII King of Norway. The Eidsvold Constitution was maintained in essence. Norway was given wide internal independence, but was joined in a permanent military alliance with Sweden and had no bodies for the conduct of foreign policy. The new state became known as the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway. The events of 1814 in Norway were basically an incomplete bourgeois revolution of national liberation.

As a result of what took place between 1808 and 1814 the political map of Northern Europe changed substantially. Two new states came into being—Norway and Finland—the first in union with Sweden, the second as part of the Russian Empire. Sweden lost its last possession in continental Europe—Swedish Pomerania, which went to Prussia. Denmark lost Norway, but retained Iceland, Greenland and the Faroes, as well as the two North German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Norway and Sweden became national states, but the retention of the duchies was to cause Denmark complications in the future. Thus by the end of the Napoleonic Wars an important step had been taken on the way to form national bourgeois states in Northern Europe.

Northern Europe in 1815-1870. The Establishment of Capitalism. Despite the temporary stagnation which followed the Napoleonic Wars, an industrial revolution had begun in the countries of Northern Europe by the 1830s. Machinery was imported from England and factories began to be built. In the late forties railways were being laid. The economic development of Denmark was to a large degree due to the fact that England and other industrial countries were in great need of Danish grain, meat and other agricultural products. The Norwegian merchant marine began to grow rapidly, as did the fishing and whaling industries. It was then that agrarian reforms were also completed in the Scandinavian countries. The landed estates began to develop along capital-

ist lines and a large part of the arable land went to the peasants. Social stratification among the peasantry began in consequence and led to the formation of a wealthy rural bourgeoisie and a rich peasantry on the one hand, and a mass of landless peasants on the other, part of whom headed for the growing cities. This was the time when the two antagonistic classes of capitalist society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—were formed. The labour market was unable to absorb the whole mass of the superfluous population and during the 1840s and 1850s there was a huge emigration from the countries of Northern Europe, specially to the United States. The Finnish economy became more developed, for Finland was in a particularly favourable position, due to the closeness and accessibility of the huge Russian market. There the industrial revolution began fairly early in the country's main industry—timber.

In Denmark absolutism became increasingly an obstacle in the path of capitalist development. During the 1830s a wave of revolution swept through the Scandinavian countries and produced a broad opposition movement among the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes and among the peasantry which were inclined to liberalism in Sweden and Denmark, and to national democracy in Norway. As a direct consequence of the social and economic changes in the Norwegian countryside during the 1830s and in the Danish countryside during the 1840s a fairly powerful peasant opposition formed in both countries. In Denmark and Sweden the concern was for democratizing the political structure, but in Norway bourgeois democracy, whose main representative was Henrik Wergeland, functioned as the vehicle for the expression of national aspirations against Danish cultural pressure. In Finland the national awareness of the Finns was growing as a reflection of the objective process of the formation of the Finnish nation, which had been held up during the years of Swedish domination. It was during the first half of the 19th century that the Finnish language was finally established as a literary language and newspapers and magazines began to be published in it. Elias Lönnrot wrote and published a Karelian-Finnish epic poem, entitled the *Kalevala*. A movement began among Finnophiles to do away with Swedish cultural influence and create a literature in the Finnish language. One of the main ideologists of the movement was

the writer and Hegelian philosopher Johan Vilhelm Snellmann.

During the 1830s the bourgeois liberal movement in Denmark achieved the convening of consultative provincial assemblies which put forward the demand for bourgeois freedoms and a parliament. A decade later these appeals were taken up by the peasants, who mainly consisted of day-labourers and small tenants. In Schleswig and Holstein a German national movement began during the 1830s, whose initial aims were to introduce a common Constitution for the duchies and to get estate representation.

In Sweden the liberals campaigned actively to do away with the estates in the Riksdag and expand suffrage. The Norwegian Storting, where a peasant majority first appeared in the 1830s, implemented a number of reforms like the introduction of local self-government, the abolition of land taxes and of the monopolies which had served to curb the development of industry.

The revolutions of 1848 and 1849 had considerable effect on the Scandinavian countries. The most advanced ideas of the age reached the north of Europe. Swedes and Danes joined the Communist League and in late 1848 the utopian socialist, Per Gotrek published in the Stockholm *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, written by Marx and Engels. Even though the political demonstrations in March 1848 in Sweden didn't come to anything, in Denmark they were the beginning of a revolution. The frightened king was forced to call to power the liberals, and the National Assembly, which was called subsequently, adopted in June 1848 a relatively democratic Constitution. Absolutism had gone forever, and a two-chamber parliament was introduced together with universal suffrage for men in elections to the lower chamber and an expansion of bourgeois democratic freedoms. This was to all intents and purposes a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In 1848 the problem of Schleswig-Holstein worsened. The German population rose up against their Danish rulers. Prussia and other German states entered the conflict and a war broke out which was only stopped by the intervention of the great powers. Danish rule was re-established, but not for long. A new crisis occurred in 1863. Denmark tried to split Schleswig and Holstein and include the former, where a sec-

tion of the population were Danish, into its kingdom. This resulted in the German Confederation waging war on Denmark and the latter suffered a heavy defeat. Both duchies became part of Bismarck's Prussia including the 200,000 Danes that lived in them. The defeat resulted in the collapse of the liberal government in Denmark and reactionary changes being made to the 1849 Constitution. The new 1866 Constitution did away with universal suffrage and increased the prerogatives of the king.

Between 1848 and 1851 a fairly powerful movement of workers sprung up in the country. They were organized by the utopian socialist, Marcus Thrane (1817-1890). The movement demanded democratic reforms and universal suffrage. The members organized meetings and demonstrations, but as a result of the authorities' crack-down Thrane and other leaders were imprisoned.

Relations between Sweden and Norway got continuously worse because ruling circles in Sweden, particularly during the reign of Charles XIV Johan, did everything they could to unite the two kingdoms, which the Norwegians bitterly opposed.

From 1820 to 1860 only Finland remained peaceful, due to the special position it occupied in the Russian Empire. It was practically unaffected by the revolutionary disturbances of the early 1830s and late 1840s. The loyalty of the Finnish population to Russia was shown during the Crimean War (1853-1856), when the country was invaded by the Anglo-French fleet, and ruling circles in Sweden-Norway and King Oscar I once again began to hatch revanchist plans and even concluded an alliance with England and France against Russia.

The 1850s and 1860s saw an economic upsurge in the countries of Northern Europe, since virtually all obstacles were removed from the path of capitalist development. It was at this time that the major banks were formed to finance industry and transport. Railways were constructed all over the countries, even in Norway where conditions were exceptionally difficult owing to its mountainous landscape.

In all the countries of Northern Europe, except Denmark, the 1860s saw a new, albeit modest, step towards the establishment of a bourgeois-democratic system. In Sweden the changes in the social structure, particularly the growth of the

urban middle classes, the intelligentsia and the non-estate bourgeoisie, gave rise to a broad movement for rewriting the Constitution. In 1865 and 1866 pressure from below brought about a moderate reform which made the Riksdag into a two-chamber parliament. But the high property qualification meant that the majority of the country's population, particularly the working people, were deprived of elementary political rights. In Norway an urban democratic and peasant opposition began to campaign not only for internal democratization and parliamentarianism, but also for expanding the rights of Norway within the union. This forced the ruling bourgeois-bureaucratic hierarchy, which looked upon union with Sweden as providing support for its own domination, into rapprochement with the throne in the hope of defending its own privileged position.

By the late 1850s and early 1860s remarkable changes had occurred in Finland. In 1858 a decree was issued making Finnish instead of Swedish the main language for all clerical work. In September 1863 the four-estate diet was called for the first time since 1809. It was opened by Alexander II, who in his speech from the throne confirmed the status of Finland as an autonomous constitutional duchy. In 1869 the diet underwent reform with its convocations now being held regularly — once every five years, a new system set up for elections and its prerogatives increased. During those same years the last obstacles on the path of capitalist development were removed — legal restrictions on private enterprise were done away with, free trade introduced, local money (the markka) issued and self-government brought to the towns and villages. Thus, autonomous bourgeois Finland rapidly became an economically and politically advanced part of the Russian Empire.

Chapter XXIX

SWITZERLAND FROM 1650 TO 1870

Political Fragmentation. Socio-Economic Development. Switzerland, a small mountainous country in the centre of Europe, upheld its independence in the mid-17th century in the wars with the Austrian Hapsburgs. But politically and economically the country was in a state of fragmentation. It was a confederation of 13 fully independent and weakly linked cantons, 10 “allied lands” with limited autonomy and a number of *vogts*, or dependent territories that had no rights and that had been seized by the Swiss in the course of numerous wars. There were no central bodies of power, or military, or finance. Nor was there any linguistic or religious community. General matters like war and peace, the organization of the army and the federal treasury, which was maintained from small contributions by the cantons, were decided from time to time by representatives of the cantons at a diet, which had no permanent place for meeting and no precise time-terms for convening. Each canton had its own government, postal service, money and customs and could conclude trade agreements with foreign states. A citizen of one canton was considered a foreigner in another.

Four languages were spoken. Most of the population in the centre, north and north-east spoke German; the rest, in the west and south, spoke French and Italian. The descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Alps, the Rhaets and the Helvetians, who lived in the high mountains of the Canton of Graubünden, spoke Rhaeto-Romanic (Romansh). In Northern Switzerland Protestants—Lutherans and Calvinists—predominated, while the people of the south tended to be Roman Catholics.

The political fragmentation of the country and its lack of mineral resources together with the extremely limited possibilities for farming (more than half of Switzerland's territory is occupied by mountains and lakes) determined the peculiarities of its social and economic development. In terms of the level and character of economic development the country was sharply divided into the mountains and the plains.

The urban cantons on the plains of Switzerland—Berne, Geneva, Basel and Zurich—were well placed at the cross-roads of trade routes and thus became major centres for the crafts and trade. This was also partly helped by the fact that the more developed Protestant cantons willingly gave refuge to those of similar religious belief who fled from France, England and Holland, and these included many skilful craftsmen, rich merchants and big bankers. They brought with them new production techniques like watch-making, and silk, velvet and cotton production. During the 17th century there appeared alongside the guilds cloth, leather and silk manufactories. In the 18th century the number of these capitalist manufactories increased rapidly in textiles, book printing and paper-making. By the end of the century Switzerland was one of Europe's leading manufacturers of cotton fabrics and watches (135,000 pieces a year). In Geneva alone a third of the adult population were employed in watch-making or jewelry, industries which later became renowned throughout the world. The Geneva bankers enjoyed great prestige and influence. It was from Geneva that Jacques Necker, director-general of finance, trade and industry in pre-revolutionary France, came. The fairs at Basel and Geneva had European renown.

In the mountain cantons of Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden that were isolated from the trade routes and industrial centres and had almost no arable land, the population engaged exclusively in livestock breeding. They also produced wool, skins, butter and cheese and sold them to the urban cantons. But they produced little bread and most of it had to be brought in from outside. Here the patriarchal system was very strong. However, the destruction of the peasant communes was accompanied by the impoverishment of the peasants who in search of work went down to the plains and joined the armed forces of other states. This gave rise to another feature of Switzerland's history—the supplying of

mercenary soldiers. From the 16th to the 19th centuries this small country sent some two million soldiers abroad to fight in Europe, North America and India for the interests and under the flags of other countries. The "gallant" Swiss mercenaries were frequently used in putting down popular movements. This shameless trade in the blood of their fellow citizens was widely practised by the cantonal authorities. The hiring of mercenaries was finally banned by law only in 1859 and from that time on a Swiss guard has been maintained only in the Vatican.

The political structure of the cantons was also not homogeneous. The urban cantons were small aristocratic republics, in which the aristocrats and feudal nobility dominated. In the mountain cantons important issues were decided by people assemblies held in the open once a year. In time they began increasingly to express the will of a closed oligarchic circle that was related by blood ties and came from the rich landowners and officers. Between the urban and the mountain cantons, the cantons and the vogts, the individual towns, the aristocracy, the guilds and the newly forming "third estate" there was constant strife. The peasants were opposed to the feudals and to the towns, which mercilessly exploited the rural population. The strife within the country frequently erupted into open uprisings and wars. In 1653 a peasant war swept through a number of cantons including Basel, Berne, Lucerne, Solothurn and Zurich. In the 18th century there were uprisings against the urban oligarchy in Geneva in 1707, in Zurich in 1713, in Berne in 1749 and in Geneva again and in Freiburg in 1781-1782.

The French Revolution. Under the influence of the French revolution the most progressive circles in Switzerland stepped up their efforts to centralize and democratize the country. In 1792 there were revolutionary uprisings in Geneva, Basel and Vaud. In Basel the so-called Rauracian Republic was formed, which in May 1793 broke away from Switzerland and joined France. After Switzerland was occupied in 1798 by the forces of the French Directory, the confederation collapsed. A "single and indivisible" Helvetic Republic was proclaimed and for the first time the country had a central government and a Constitution, which was an exact copy of the French 1795 Constitution. It put an end to the servile de-

pendence of the peasants and the guild system and proclaimed freedom of conscience, the press, trade and the crafts.

But the republic failed to implement the main provisions of the Constitution. Having signed a military treaty with France, it became drawn into a war with the anti-Napoleonic coalition. In 1799 Switzerland became one of the main theatres of military action and the country was ruined by the fighting, the indemnities imposed by the French and the costs of maintaining the troops. There were uprisings against the government and its French protectors throughout all the cantons. In 1803 after having lived through five coup d'états, six governments, and six Constitutions in just five years, the Helvetic Republic ceased to exist. Napoleon restored with a few changes the country's former state structure and at the same time made Switzerland a French vassal. In accordance with the military treaty that was signed in the same year with France Switzerland was forced to take part in the wars of the French Empire, providing 16,000 recruits a year. Only after the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire did Switzerland regain its independence and announce its intention to remain a neutral country.

Switzerland After the Congress of Vienna. The Congress of Vienna proclaimed the independence and "eternal neutrality" of Switzerland. It established its new borders, which were similar to those of the present day, and determined the internal structure of the country. Switzerland was once again recognized as a confederation of dwarf-states (cantons), the number of which was increased to 22. Geneva and other border areas, which had been annexed by Napoleon, were restored to the country. The political structure of the cantons was variegated, but for the most part reactionary. Power was returned to the local lay and ecclesiastical feudal lords, aristocrats and rich merchants. The high property qualification meant that the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie were completely deprived of participation in public affairs. The union diet, as before, had almost no rights. In a small country with a population of not more than 2 million there were sixty different measures of length, eighty measures of weight, 87 measures for dry substances and 81 measures for liquids.

Trade was hampered by cantonal taxes. It cost more to send a letter from Zurich to Geneva than to America. Political and economic fragmentation impeded the country's development.

The "Cantonal Revolution". Under the direct influence of the revolutionary events of 1830 in France, a struggle for democracy and centralization began in Switzerland. The economically developed and advanced cantons saw a wave of "cantonal revolution". In a number of towns the power of the urban aristocracy was overthrown. In 12 cantons more democratic constitutions were introduced, which did away with the feudal dues paid by the peasants and reduced the property qualification. The movement for centralization also got under way. But these progressive aspirations met with opposition from the more backward part of the country. During the 1840s seven mountain cantons formed a separatist, reactionary and secret military and political alliance, known as the Sonderbund. In 1847 after some time spent in preparation, this organization began a civil war. But the advantage lay with the more developed north-western cantons, that remained under the power of the diet. The backward, poorly populated and economically weak and uncoordinated mountain cantons capitulated one after another three weeks after the outbreak of hostilities. In 1848 when there was a general revolutionary upsurge in Europe the victory of the central government in Switzerland was endorsed by a new state structure and a new Constitution.

The 1848 Constitution. Economic Development in the 1850s and 1860s. From an unstable union of cantons Switzerland became a single federal state with a centralized state apparatus. Legislative power was concentrated in the hands of the national parliament — a two-chamber Federal Assembly. Central executive power was given to the Federal Council, which was in effect the government, and judicial power went to the federal court. The industrial city of Berne was decreed the capital of the state. The postal services, telegraph, customs and the money and weights and measures systems were made the same throughout the country. Universal suffrage was proclaimed together with freedom of the press, assembly, unions and religious faith. The centralization of the

country served as a reliable guarantee of its sovereignty and neutrality, since under the new Constitution Switzerland could not conclude military alliances with other states.

The strengthening of the central government and the final formation of the internal state structure of the country gave a powerful boost to its economy. Of great importance to economic development was the building of roads and railways, which enabled the country to increase its earnings from the transport of goods across Switzerland, accumulation of capital as a result of acting as an agent in international trade and credit-finance operations, employment of the qualified labour force provided by immigrants from the more developed countries, and the advantageous geographical position of an Alpine republic at the crossroads of important trade routes and a place to which an increasing number of tourists began to come during the second half of the 19th century. During the 1850s many industrial enterprises sprung up, particularly in the silk, cotton and watch-making industries. The growing machine-building industry began to produce mainly small agricultural machinery. But all this required additional expenditure on raw materials and fuel, which Switzerland did not have. Therefore, the Swiss entrepreneurs tried to compensate for these costs at the expense of the workers whose pay was much lower than in England and France and whose working day lasted for 15-16 hours.

But in defence of their rights the workers began set up trade unions. During the 1860s there were numerous unions of watchmakers, tailors and cobblers. In the mid-1860s the Swiss sections of the First International were formed. These were among the first in Europe and by 1867 had already been in existence in 21 towns and cities. Under the leadership of the First International a strike movement began in Switzerland and in 1868 the strike of the Geneva builders, who won a ten per cent pay increase and an hour's reduction of their working day, became known throughout the world.

But the workers' movement in the 1850s and 1860s came under the influence of anarchist elements. It was the Geneva Section of the First International that became the central organization for Bakunin's International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.

Marx's and Engels' struggle against Bakunin helped liberate the Swiss workers' movement from anarchic views. After

the Congress of the First International in Basel, Bakunin's popularity among the Swiss workers declined.

Owing to its geographical position and neutrality, Switzerland became the headquarters of a number of international organizations. In 1863 the International Committee for the Relief of Wounded Soldiers was set up in Geneva. In 1864 the International Geneva Convention was signed, as a result of which many countries formed Red Cross societies. In 1865 the International Office of Telegraphic Communications was opened. During the 1850s and 1860s Switzerland was one of the main places to which revolutionary and democratic immigrants came from other countries. Congresses of the First International were frequently held in Switzerland.

Chapter XXX

FROM THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE TO THE FORMATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

The Last Years of the Communist League. After the defeat of the 1848 revolution life was made very difficult for the Communist League. Marx came to London in the summer of 1849 and was elected to the League's Central Committee. Here he began to work for the renaissance of the League and the restoration of international proletarian ties. During the early part of 1850 the League tangibly stepped up its activities in expectation that a new revolution was not far off. It concluded an agreement with the left Chartists and the Blanquists to form a Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists.

But the hopes for a new revolution came to nothing. Marx and Engels first understood this in the summer of 1850, but August Willich and Karl Schapper, who disagreed with Marx, believed that communism could be introduced directly as a result of the revolution that they considered possible irrespective of objective conditions. Thus they tried to push the League on the path of revolutionary adventurism and insisted that only manual labourers should be allowed to remain in the Communist League. At the same time they were in favour of unification with the petty-bourgeois democrats.

In the Central Committee the majority supported Marx. The new Central Committee which was formed in Cologne under the leadership of Roland Daniels, censured Willich and Schapper for splitting the League, forming their own organization and getting involved in adventurism.

In May 1851 the German government cracked down severely on the Communist League and the Central Committee was disbanded. Marx exposed the false accusations made by the police for the court in Cologne for the purposes of con-

demning and slandering the communists. The Communist League was now virtually finished and in November 1852 the London communists announced that it had been officially dissolved.

What the Revolution and the Communist League Achieved. Analyzing the events of 1848-1849 and subsequent years, Marx and Engels developed their theory and drew new and important conclusions. These were set out in newspaper articles, in the Central Committee theses, drafted by Marx and Engels, in Engels' *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* and in Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

Marx stressed the enormous importance of the revolution and showed that it was the proletariat that was the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, since it tried not only to make complete bourgeois-democratic changes, but also bring about a socialist revolution. From the lessons of the 1848-1849 revolution, Marx and Engels also drew an important conclusion on the need to establish a firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry not only for a bourgeois, but also for a proletarian revolution.

In setting out the objectives of the proletarian movement, Marx showed that the dictatorship of the working class was an essential stage of transition to socialism. He pointed to the need for the proletariat to break the old state machine and clarified the correlation between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism.

Marx and Engels defined the principles of the political organization of the workers, explained the relationship between national and international objectives and pointed out the role of the various national movements in the revolutionary process. Marx and Engels were sharply critical of social reformism, particularly the ideas of Louis Blanc and the revolutionary adventurism of Willich and Schapper. Referring to the class struggles in the late 1840s and early 1850s, Lenin wrote: "In this remarkable argument Marxism takes a tremendous step forward compared with the *Communist Manifesto*."*

* V.I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, p. 411.

Marx and Engels at the time overestimated the possibilities for an early victory of socialism, particularly in Germany. They believed that a revolution would start only through an economic crisis and that in a country where the proletariat were in the majority universal suffrage would be sufficient to ensure its political domination. They believed that after a revolution the landed estates should not be distributed among the peasants, but given over to the state to be worked by associations of rural proletarians.

The Workers' Movement During the Period of Reaction. After the defeat of the revolution repressions rained down on the advanced section of the workers. But they still continued their struggle. In 1851 the British Chartists adopted a programme drawn up by Ernest Charles Jones with the help of Marx. This new programme spoke about joining Chartism with "social science", by which was meant Marxism, and about the need in a proletarian revolution to hand over all power and means of production to the people, to strengthen the trade unions and to bring about an alliance between the workers and the other oppressed sections of society. Demands were put forward for universal suffrage, land nationalization and the arming of the people.

To propagandize these ideas the National Charter Association put forward their own candidates at the 1852 parliamentary elections, even though they only had 3,000 members. The revolutionary Chartists organized help for the striking workers and began to unite the smaller trade unions. On their initiative the Labour Parliament was elected in 1854 and this put forward some of the social demands of the proletariat. They protested against British colonial policy and gave their support to the uprisings of the oppressed peoples in India.

The workers in France continued their struggles through strikes. In 1854 they began once more to form mutual aid societies, and at the end of the fifties to renew the resistance alliances. Many French workers were attracted by the petty-bourgeois socialism of Proudhon, who advocated the formation of mutual aid societies. Under his influence the new generation of workers' leaders, represented by Henri-Louis Tolain, was ready to limit itself to reforms.

In Germany numerous workers' organizations were founded to improve conditions for the workers. But their struggle was on the whole economic and they were unstable and short-lived.

In the United States of America the 1850s saw the creation of many trade unions. The workers' vigorous campaign for a 10-hour working day was led, however, by petty-bourgeois democrats.

The Upsurge of the Workers' Movement and the Formation of the International Working Men's Association. The world economic crisis of 1857 which was accompanied by mass unemployment and a worsening in labour conditions, brought about a revival of the proletarian and democratic movement. Workers supported the liberation struggle of the Italian people and the uprising in Poland and took part in the civil war in the United States. The workers' organizations in various countries tried to make direct contact with each other for exchanging experience and receiving mutual support. This was aided by the visits of French and German workers to the World Exhibition in London in 1862. The trade unions and democratic organizations held international meetings in London in which workers' representatives from many countries took part.

In summer 1863 the leaders of the English trade unions and the French workers' unions formed a committee in London to unite the workers' organizations in France, England and other countries. Marx was a member of this committee and helped with its work.

The representatives of workers' organizations met on September 28, 1864 in St Martin's Hall in London. They came from England, France, Italy, Poland, Ireland and Germany. The meeting was also attended by a large number of revolutionary emigres. Although the composition of the meeting was wide and varied—from Marx and his followers to the Proudhonists and the bourgeois democrats—all were in favour of forming an International Working Men's Association and calling an international workers' congress. An International Working Committee was elected and it was given the task of drafting the Rules for the international proletarian organization.

Marx was elected to the Committee and to its Standing Committee which was directly engaged in drawing up the Provisional Rules. He redrafted the Rules and wrote the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association, which was frequently referred to as simply the International and, many years later, after the formation of a new international proletarian organization, the First International. Both documents were adopted and in November 1864 published by the Committee, which began to be referred to as the Provisional Central Council.

The Address and the Rules. In these documents, Marx formulated in the most general terms the objectives of the proletarian movement, since the leaders of the trade unions, the Proudhonists, the Lassalleans and a large number of other workers' organizations did not share many of his views. He had to clothe in phraseology that was acceptable and understandable to the workers of the time the most important theses of scientific communism, which were to become the point of departure for the ideological, theoretical and political growth of the Association.

The Address emphasized the enormous importance of the workers' successful struggle for the 10-hour working day and of the cooperative movement. It said also that "to conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working class."^{*}

The Inaugural Address stated that a condition of the successful struggle of the proletariat for its liberation was not only the numerical growth of the body of workers, but more important their organization and consciousness. It also noted that the liberation of the working class required fraternal cooperation among the workers of all countries and that they should "stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation..."^{***}. It called upon the proletariat to understand the secrets of international politics, to do everything in their power to oppose wars of plunder and to fight against national enmity and the criminal foreign policy of the ex-

^{*} Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association", in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985, p. 12.

^{**} Ibid.

exploiter classes working for just relations between peoples. In furtherance of the cause begun by the Communist League, the International issued the appeal: "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!".

The Rules stated that "the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves...".* The International Working Men's Association was looked upon as a centre of cooperation between those workers' organizations which wanted the protection, development and complete emancipation of the working class. All workers' organizations and individuals who recognized its purpose and agreed to abide by its Rules were welcome to join it.

The General Council. The broad and all-round discussion by the General Council of problems facing the international working class was of enormous importance. It formed a Standing Committee, which apart from the chairman and his deputies, a treasurer and a general secretary, included secretaries representing the different countries. One of these was Marx, who was the secretary for Germany and, for a short time, for Belgium and Russia too. He was surrounded by the revolutionary-proletarian nucleus of the General Council—Eugene Dupont, Johann Eccarius, Hermann Jung and others, all of whom had the support of numerous allies and fellow-travellers. Thanks to Marx the General Council became the ideological and theoretical headquarters of the international workers' movement. One of its main areas of work was supporting the strike movement.

The International supported the strikes of the workers in England, Germany, Holland and Switzerland. In a number of cases its help was of decisive importance for the success of the strikers. This more than anything else contributed to the popularity of the International among the broadest strata of the proletariat and caused thousands of workers in different countries to join it.

The General Council worked tirelessly to expand the International. Through its efforts the International Working Men's Association formed ties with and gained new suppor-

* Ibid., p. 14.

ters from among the workers' movements not only in England, France and Germany, but also in the United States, Holland, Denmark and even Russia.

The General Council fully supported the national liberation struggle of the Poles and the Irish and demanded the independence of Poland and Ireland. The Council declared that the working class was for liberating the oppressed peoples and proclaimed the right of all nations to self-determination. It appealed to the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, to emancipate the blacks and do away with slavery.

At the same time the General Council was resolutely against nationalism, which identified the interests of the nation with those of the exploiter classes and set nations against each other. It opposed Bonapartism and the aggressive policies of the great powers.

The Factions in the International. The International Working Men's Association brought together almost all the workers' organizations and consequently contained representatives of different trends. There were bourgeois democrats, Proudhonists, trade unionists and followers of Bakunin. The bourgeois democrats Luigi Wolff, Pierre Vesinier and Felix Pyat tried in 1865 and 1866 to get control of the International so as to limit its aims to the securing of democratic freedoms and then merge it with the pacifist League of Peace and Freedom.

The Proudhonists, Tolain, Fribourg et al., at the congresses and sometimes in the General Council defended petty private ownership of the means of production, particularly the land, and rejected the progressive importance of large-scale production. They saw no need for trade unions and condemned strikes. They were against the workers' organizations taking part in the political struggle and refused to fight for democratic aims. They considered that nations were an obsolete concept and were unwilling to support national liberation movements. The Proudhonists wanted membership of the International and access to the leading posts in it limited solely to those who were engaged in manual labour. They proposed that the International should solve social problems through setting up exchange banks and the so-

cieties for interest-free credit and mutual aid to the workers, and also through regulation of direct and indirect taxation.

The leaders of the English trade unions—George Odger and William Cremer, spoke in the General Council and even at congresses in favour of limiting the objectives of the trade unions to improving the economic conditions of the workers and reducing their political demands to moderate democratic reforms. They opposed the need for the political independence of the proletariat and were inclined to merge with the bourgeois democrats. The leaders of the trade unions censured the armed struggle of the Irish Fianna.

The Bakuninists, who had announced the dissolution of their Alliance of Socialist Democracy, after 1868 got the International Working Men's Association to accept its sections as members. Bakunin and his followers saw the state as the main cause for the oppression of the masses, and of all social evils. Bakunin was against any form of state, calling for its destruction and the absolute freedom of the individual. In a bid to win over the majority and seize the leadership of the International, the Bakuninists declared an end to the right of inheritance as the fundamental principle of revolution.

The revolutionary proletarian nucleus of the International under the leadership of Marx opposed these currents in the International and tried to strengthen and expand their own influence. The struggle for a Marxist solution to the problems of the workers' movement took place not only in the General Council, but also at the Congresses of the First International.

The Congresses of the International Working Men's Association. From its founding until 1870, the International held one conference (in London in 1865) and four congresses (in Geneva in 1866, in Lausanne in 1867, in Brussels in 1868 and in Basel in 1869). Their prestige rose from year to year. An important item on the agenda of the congresses was the issue of achieving an improvement in the economic condition of the workers. In 1866 the Geneva Congress put forward the demand to limit the working day to eight hours, to improve labour conditions and provide technical training for children and teenagers. The 1867 Congress once again stressed the importance of the economic struggle of the proletariat and at

the next congress it was decided to extend the struggle for an 8-hour working day to all countries.

The congresses gave considerable attention to the trade unions. The First Congress described them as the organization centres of the proletariat, which could carry their struggle through to emancipation and not be limited to purely economic demands, but put forward political demands as well. In a discussion on the methods of proletarian struggle, the Third Congress paid great attention to the holding of strikes and the leadership of them. The Fourth Congress called upon the workers to form trade unions in all industries and unite them on a national scale. It entrusted the General Council with the international unification of the trade unions. The trade unions were to achieve not only improvements in the workers' plight, but work for replacement of the system of hired-labour with an "association of free producers", i.e., take part in a political struggle.

The need for political struggle and political freedoms as a condition for the emancipation of the proletariat was clearly stated in the resolutions of the Second Congress. But even before that the 1865 Conference had spoken out in support of the liberation movement of the Polish people and the First Congress had called for a struggle against regular armies and for the arming of the people, seeing this as an important condition for democratization and a means for doing away with militarism and stopping aggression. The Second Congress proclaimed its solidarity with the pacifist League of Peace and Freedom, but pointed out in its resolutions that disbanding armies was insufficient to stop wars, since what was required for this was the transformation of society as a whole.

The Fourth Congress recognized the necessity of the public ownership of the mines, the railways and the land. The next congress confirmed this position and addressed itself to the problem of the peasantry and the ways to win it over to the side of the proletariat.

Each congress, Marx wrote, tried to "make the workmen of different countries not only *feel*, but *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation."*

* Karl Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions", in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985, p. 186.

Strengthening the Sections of the International Working Men's Association. The higher ideological and political level and the growth of the International's sections were promoted by the General Council and the congresses and especially by the theoretical work of Marx and Engels and the direct help they gave to the sections. Of great importance was the publishing in 1867 of the first volume of *Das Capital*. "As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth," Engels wrote, "no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers as the one before us."* In *Capital* Marx showed the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism, provided the theoretical basis of scientific communism and revealed the roots of proletarian internationalism and the laws of the workers' movement. Marx made reports to the sessions of the General Council in which he put forward his ideas, and wrote numerous articles. Engels, and the other Marxists—Lafargue, Becker, Sorge, Kugelmann, Liebknecht, Lessner and Eccarius—brought Marx's doctrine to the masses by writing in the press and appearing at meetings of workers' organizations and circles. The Brussels Congress of the International adopted a special resolution recommending the workers to read *Capital*.

In England the General Council worked to involve the workers in political struggle. In 1865 members of the General Council together with the leaders of a number of trade unions and bourgeois radicals formed the Reform League, which demanded universal suffrage. In the latter part of 1866 there began a mass movement in England for universal suffrage. In 1867 the English nominated their own candidates for parliament.

In 1869 a congress of social-democrats took place in German town of Eisenach. Under the leadership of Bebel, Liebknecht and Bracke, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany was founded, which became a section of the International and adopted a programme containing the basic principles of the International.

In France there were some 200,000 members of the International's sections. Moreover, its sections sprang up in Swit-

* Frederick Engels, "Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*", in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 231.

zerland, Belgium, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, the US, Denmark and Italy. In 1870 Russian revolutionary democrats founded the Russian section of the International Working Men's Association. Marx agreed to be their secretary-correspondent.

The International united the most conscious workers and was closely linked with their movement. It gave support to the class struggle of the proletariat and raised the ideological, theoretical and political level of the international workers' movement as a whole.

Chapter XXXI

LITERATURE AND ART

The 17th century brought a new era to European aesthetic life, an era that was marked by great achievements of the human mind. In two and a half centuries human culture went through several stages of development, each with its own predominant artistic style. These were baroque, classicism, romanticism and realism.

The chronological boundaries of these stages are not the same in all the arts, nor are they the same in the cultures of all countries. The artistic style itself, which determined the spirit and the structure of the culture of one or another period, could combine heterogeneous tendencies, which outwardly seemed contradictory, but nevertheless preserved a unity among its most important characteristics. Each of these styles produced phenomena of a more particular nature and comparatively short-lived schools and currents, like sentimentalism and pre-romanticism, which enriched the dominant aesthetics at any given stage and laid the groundwork for deep changes in art.

Literature. The specifics of the various forms of art—music, painting, theatre, poetry, etc.—predetermine both the particularly intensive development and the stability of the various artistic principles. Thus in literature baroque had exhausted itself by the end of the 17th century, having created remarkable examples of the interweaving of tragedy and comedy, expressive imagery, allegorical symbolism and intellectual depth. Baroque, which was connected with the noble-ecclesiastical culture of mature absolutism, reflected at the same time antifeudal aspirations, and progressive ideas on the complexity, variety and changeability of the world. Ba-

AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.
FOUNDATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

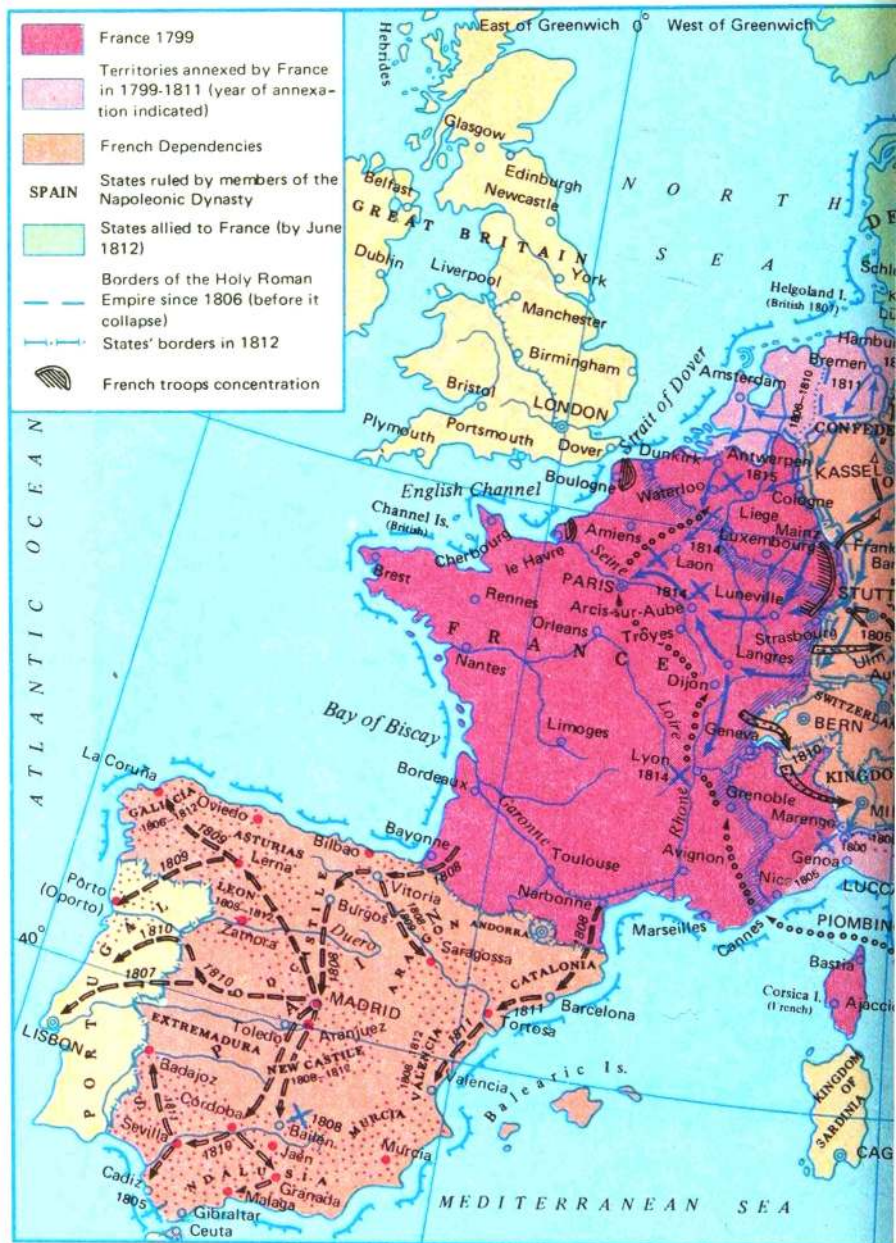


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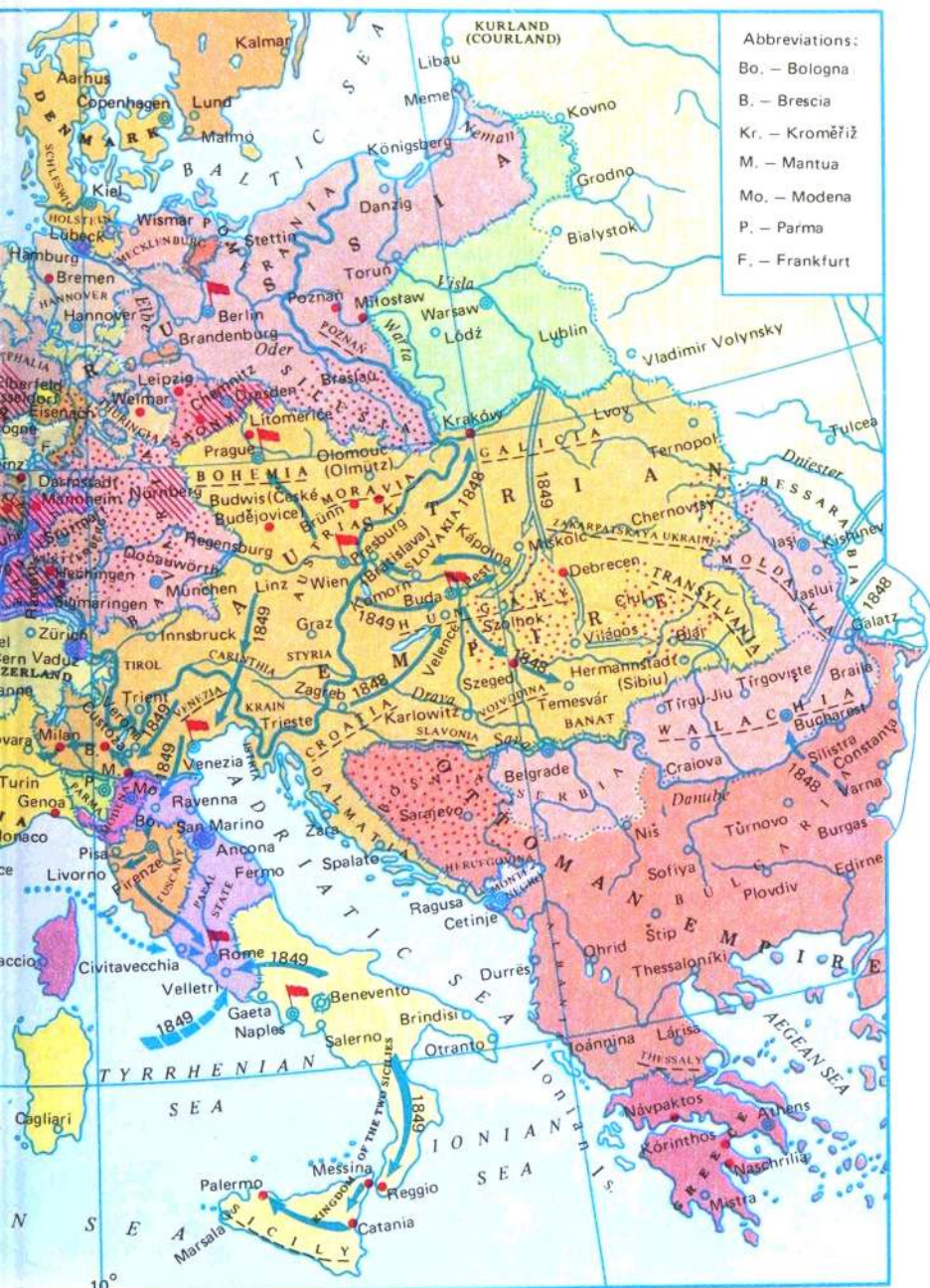
FRENCH EMPIRE



REVOLUTION AND THE REVOLUTION



EMENT IN EUROPE. 1848 - 1849





Main uprisings and revolutionary workers' demonstrations

Areas of general strike in England (1842)

Main centres of the Chartist movement

Main uprisings of the peasant-tenants and day-labourers

Uprisings led by revolutionaries of noble birth

Uprisings in the military districts of the Russian Empire

Mutinies in the Russian Navy

Centres and districts of the national liberation movement

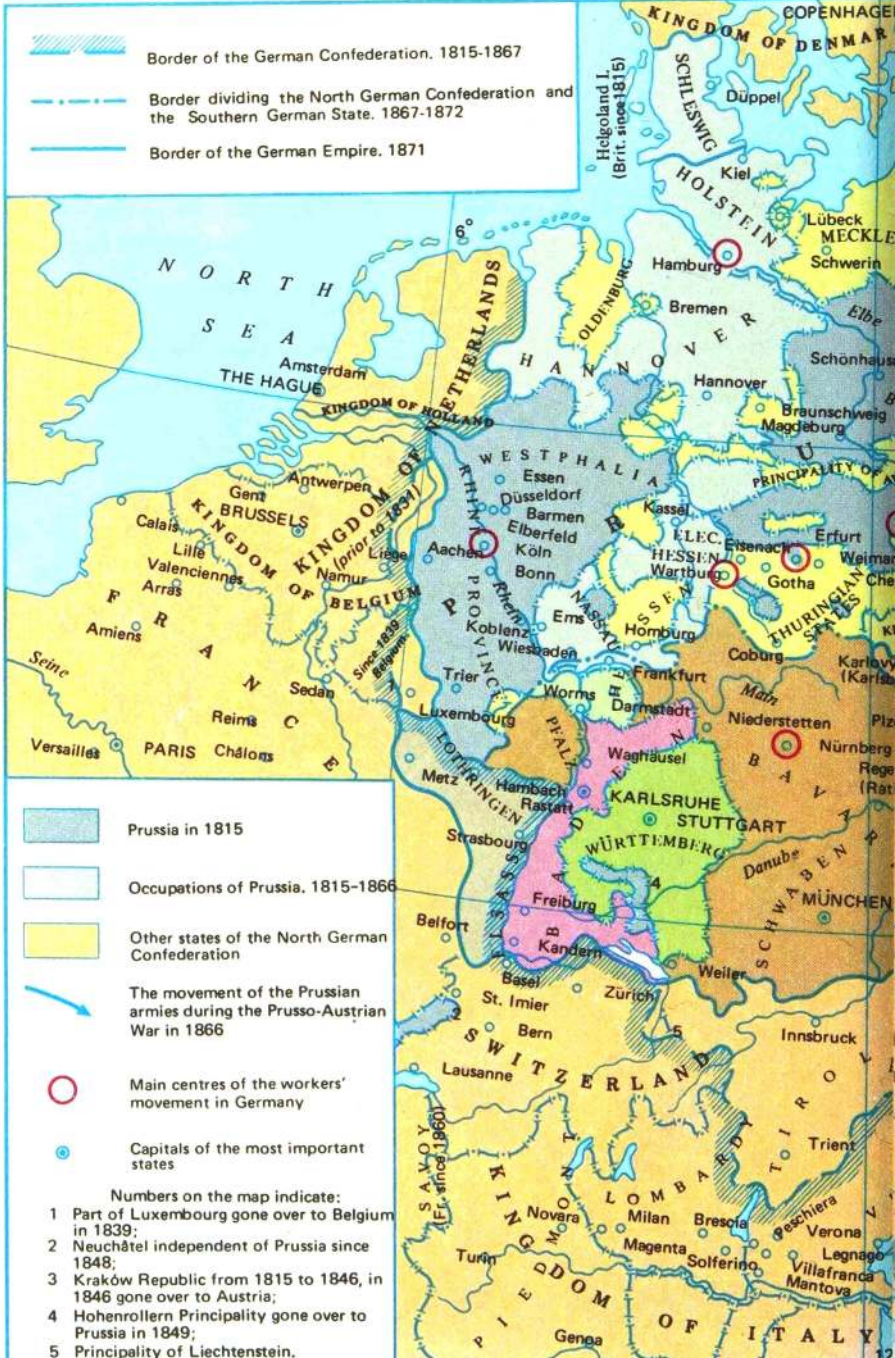
Defeat of the Turkish fleet at Navarino in 1827

International Congresses called by the Holy Alliance showing the years

The crushing of revolutionary demonstration
by the counter-revolutionary forces of the
Holy Alliance

Places and dates of the most important peace treaties

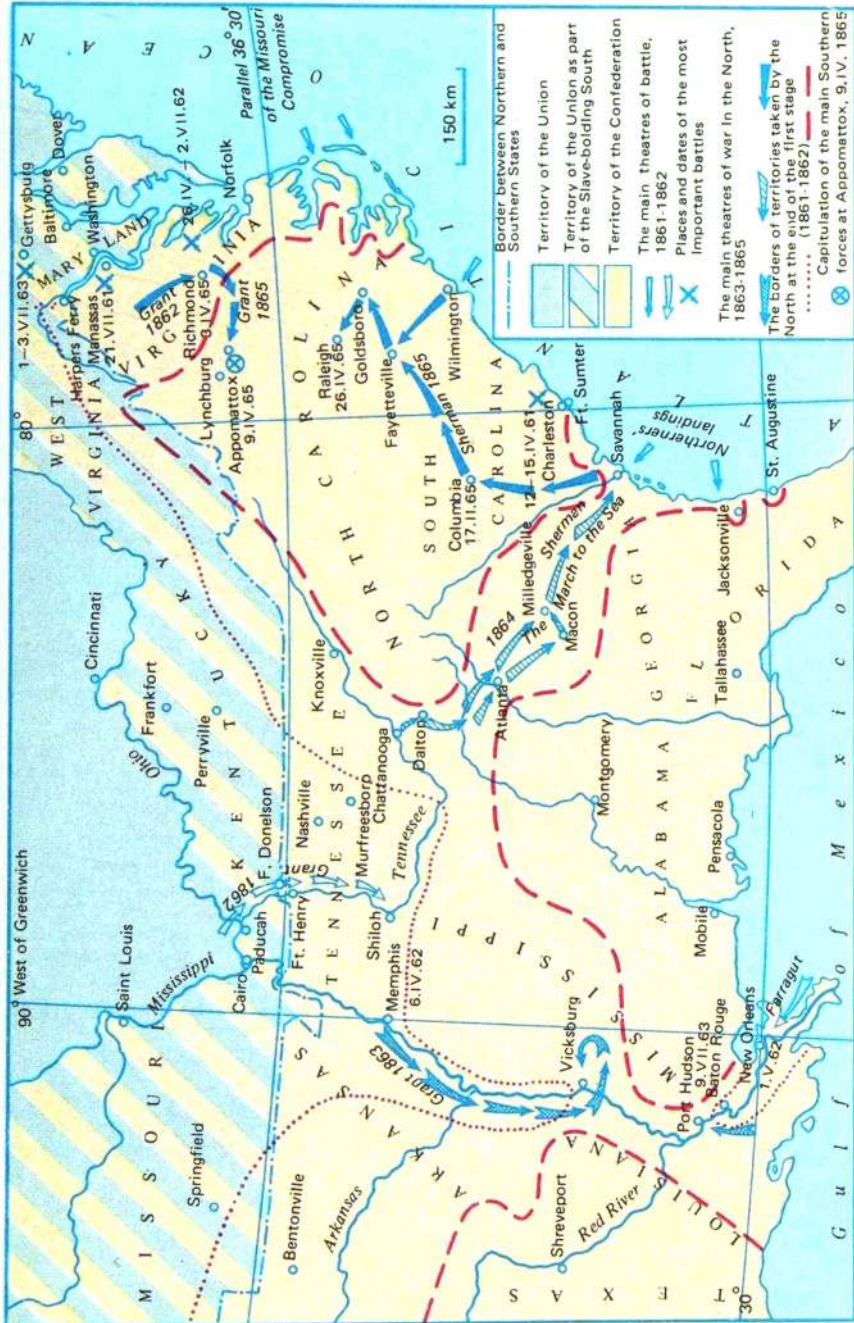
CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1815



CONSOLIDATION OF ITALY



THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865



FORMATION OF THE INDEPENDENT STATES IN LA

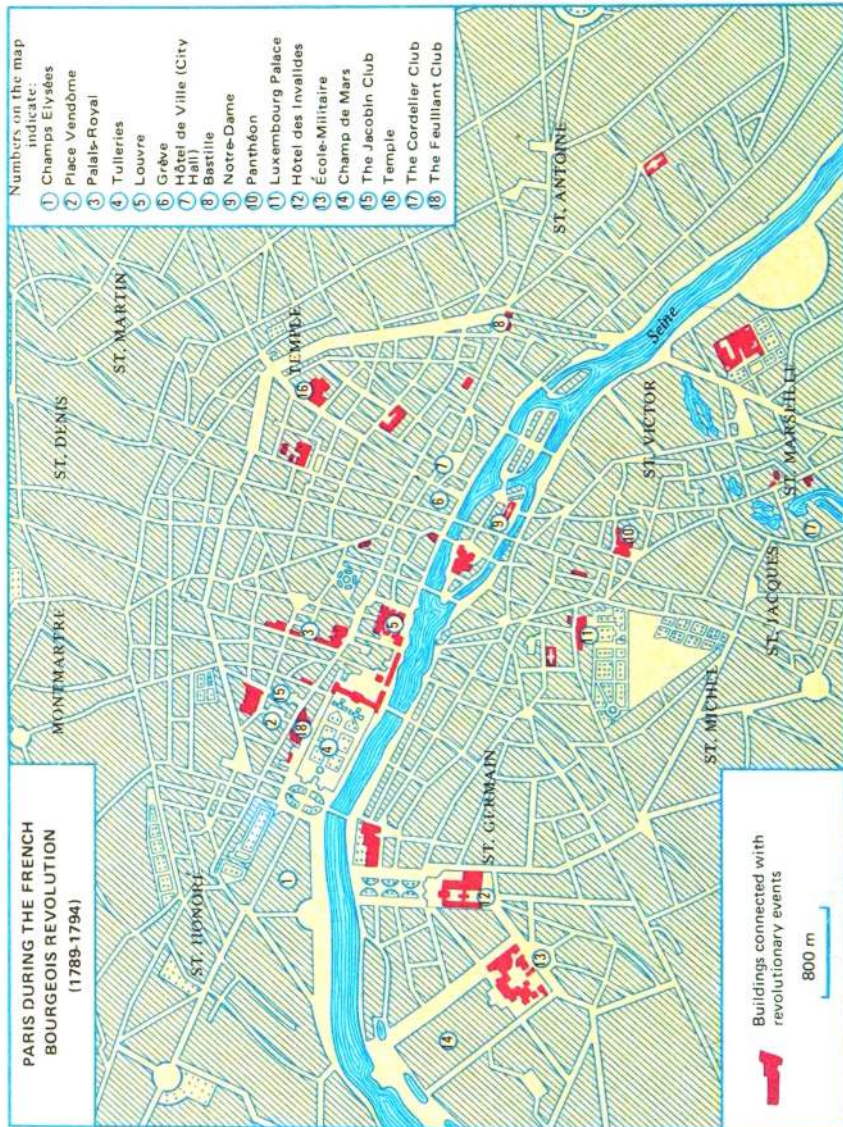


- The national liberation war in Latin America
- Negro slave rebellion on the island of Haiti in 1791 - 1804 and the proclamation of the first independent state in Latin America.
- The formation of revolutionary juntas which led the struggle for independence in 1810
- The main centres of the national liberation struggle.
- The most important marches of the liberation armies:
- Rio de la Plata in 1810 - 1815.
- Under the leadership of Bolívar in 1812-1825
- Under the leadership of St. Martin in 1817 - 1818
- 1824 x places and dates of the major battles fought by the liberation armies.
- The last hotbeds of Spanish and Portuguese resistance
- The states that were formed by 1828
- Borders of Spanish colonial territory
- Borders of Portuguese colonial territory
- Territories and islands left under the power of:
- Puerto Rico I.
- Spain
- Holland
- Guadeloupe I.
- France
- Barbados
- Britain

PARIS DURING THE FRENCH BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION (1789-1794)

Numbers on the map indicate:

- 1 Champs Elysées
- 2 Place Vendôme
- 3 Palais-Royal
- 4 Tuilleries
- 5 Louvre
- 6 Grève
- 7 Hôtel de Ville (City Hall)
- 8 Bastille
- 9 Notre-Dame
- 10 Panthéon
- 11 Luxembourg Palace
- 12 Hôtel des Invalides
- 13 École-Militaire
- 14 Champ de Mars
- 15 The Jacobin Club
- 16 Temple
- 17 The Cordelier Club
- 18 The Feuillant Club



Buildings connected with
revolutionary events

800 m

roque literature reached its zenith in Spain (in the poetry of Luis de Gongora y Argote, 1561-1627, and in the plays of Pedro Calderon de la Barca 1600-1681) and in England (in the poetry of John Donne, 1572-1631). The literature of the 18th century under the inspiration of the ideas of the Enlightenment departed from baroque. But the originality of this style, which developed during the crisis of Renaissance humanism, corresponded organically to those forms of imagery which were present in music and painting, where baroque retained the dominant trend for a long time to come.

Romanticism in literature was largely confined to the first quarter of the 19th century and then gave way to realism. But in the theatre and particularly in music romanticism achieved a genuine artistic revolution, directing the development of these arts right into the 20th century. This is explained by the exceptional accord between the romantic ethic and the very nature of these forms of art. Having reflected the general disappointment in the results of the French revolution, in the ideology of the Enlightenment and in bourgeois progress, romanticism opposed utilitarianism and the downgrading of the individual with a striving for boundless freedom, for the "infinite", with a thirst for perfection and renewal and with a desire for personal and civil independence.

Classicism, on the other hand, had comparatively little effect on music, expressing its essence primarily in painting and literature. The artistic meaning of classicism was formulated in 1674 by Nicolas Boileau (1636-1711) in his *L'Art poetique*. He claimed that the purpose of poetry was moral education and an objective view of the world. And the model for this was the art of the Ancient World, the standards of which remained unchanged for all time. To the fantasy and whimsicality of the baroque artists he opposed strict rationalism where the criterion of the beautiful was reason, as it was metaphysically understood. The forms and genres of art were strictly delineated, and the highest of these were epic and tragedy. Convention and bombast in style were obligatory, as were the themes taken from the ancient writers. The canons of classicism demanded the unity of time, place of action and the central event in drama, permitted no mixture between the "high" and the "low" (i.e., folklore and farce, etc.) in poetry, required the inflexible observance of "decency and

decorum", and rejected all that was subjective or violated the concept of the "reasonable".

But the works of the great classicist writers went beyond the framework of this ethic. The plays of Boileau's great compatriots Pierre Corneille (1606-1684), Jean-Baptiste Racine (1639-1699) and Jean-Baptiste Molière (1622-1673), while following the principles of classicism, nevertheless included enormous spiritual and ethical content that transcended the concepts that characterized the era of absolutism. Subsequently classicism became more and more infected with the ideas of the Enlightenment, ideas of a morality which went beyond social position. These were predominant in the works of such French writers as Denis Diderot (1713-1784) and Jean-François Voltaire (1694-1778) and in German literature in the works of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), Johann Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) and Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832). The English 18th-century novel was the great culmination point of Enlightenment literature, for there the principles of a realistic understanding of the bourgeoisie were formed in the works of such writers as Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), Daniel Defoe (circa 1660-1731) and Henry Fielding (1707-1754).

Though classicism remained the artistic credo of the Enlightenment writers, there was a characteristic tendency to the ideal of the "natural man", who was governed by the commands of his heart and the norms of nature, and not by the prejudices that were current in society. This ideal came into conflict with the real nature of a property-owning society. In this way the central conflict in the works of the Enlightenment was formed, while they themselves contained a combination of satire, sermon, allegory, parable and the authentic description of customs. The doctrine of "common sense" turned out to be incompatible with the social realities of the time. The optimistic references in literature to the "age of reason" gradually gave way to misanthropic moods, which encouraged the critical exposure of a society in which reason was powerless before egoism. The philosophical prose of Voltaire and Swift, where this dilemma was most consistently treated, remains an intransigent artistic achievement.

Another trend which matured under classicism showed an interest in the dialectics of the soul, the problems of the relationship between reason and feelings, and in the daily life of

the ordinary person. The psychologism found in the works of Antoine-François Prévost (1697-1763), Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774) and Lawrence Sterne (1713-1768) directly presaged realism in literature. The cult of nature and of the idyllic harmony found in parts untouched by civilization is combined in the works of these writers with a condemnation of religious fanaticism, tyranny and dictat over conscience and thought. In advancing the doctrine of the moral perfection of the individual, they demanded the radical transformation of the social institutions on the principles of justice, humanity and democracy.

These ideas found their fullest embodiment in French pre-revolutionary literature, particularly in the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). His apology for nature developed into a harsh criticism of the ugliness of the existing world order. In his novel *Julie ou la Nouvelle Heloise* (1761) and in his *Confessions*, on which Rousseau worked to the end of his life, we see the ideological trends which led to the events of 1789. The depth of his ethical conflicts and the variety of his characters belong more to the art of the 19th century, than to the time in which the author lived.

Goethe's work similarly showed the change from the 18th to the 19th century. Brought up on classicism and having enthused over freedomloving aspirations, cherished by the writers who in the late 18th century belonged to the *Sturm und Drang* movement, Goethe cannot, like his contemporary Schiller, be labelled as an adherent of any of the numerous artistic trends that were fashionable at the time. His poetry expresses the ideal of universal and harmonious art which concerns itself with all mankind's problems, past and present. Goethe's philosophical tragedy *Faust* (1801; Part II 1831) is a classic of world literature, an example of the deepest understanding of the national consciousness marred as it was by the gap between word and deed, and a work full of humanity.

Goethe was a contemporary of romanticism, but it remained alien to him. Romanticism was something born from the lessons of the French revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. It rejected rationality, seeing it as a mere justification for bourgeois philistinism. In opposition to common sense it put forward the ideas of spiritual emancipation, escape from the boredom of daily life and the search for justice and beauty beyond the limits of bourgeois life. The tragical dif-

ference between dreams and reality was what determined the romantic outlook. Its characteristics were the feeling of mystery in both nature and man, the desire for harmony and high ideals and self-irony caused by the fact that such strivings were crowned with either farce or catastrophe.

The philosophical basis of romanticism was idealism, particularly that of Schelling and, to some extent, that of Kant. The principle of imitating nature gave way to the concept of creating with nature, which encouraged art to be something active.

Romanticism was born in Germany where the Jena School was founded by the two brothers August Wilhelm von Schlegel and Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel. It was known for its militant non-acceptance of the ideas of the Enlightenment. Then there was the Heidelberg circle which included the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who wrote a famous collection of fairy-tales. The romantics collected and published works of popular culture; this was a genuine revolution in folklorism. The great figures of German romanticism were the prose writer Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (1776-1822), in whose works the grotesque is interweaved with the sarcastic, and the lyrical poet, Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), who was closely connected to the revolutionary movement of his period.

French romanticism produced both writers who were deeply hostile to the ideas of 1789, like François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848) who was famous for stories that idealized life outside civilization, and others who inherited the spirit of the revolution like Amandine-Aurore Lucie Dupin who wrote under the pseudonym of George Sand (1804-1876) and particularly Victor Hugo (1802-1885). George Sand's books included many of the characteristic ideas of utopian socialism. Hugo, who was well known as a poet, prose writer and dramatist, had a passionate hatred of any form of encroachment on freedom or the rights of the individual. But though he appealed for moral improvement, Hugo provided objective testimony that it was impossible without a change in social conditions (cf. his novel *Les Misérables*, 1862).

The revolutionary ideal also inspired the work of the great English romantics George Byron (1788-1824) and Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) who openly sided with the liberation movements at home and abroad, in Greece and Italy. Glor-

ifying at first the rebellious individualists who threw down the challenge to the mediocrity that surrounded them and then portraying the typical figure of the post-Napoleonic era, the youth who found no ideal or purpose in a reality that was submitted to despotism, Byron gradually overcame the extremes of romantic willfulness and at the end of his life created a novel in verse (*Don Juan*, 1824), which contained a multi-layered satirical review of European life. At the same time in England the historical novels of Walter Scott (1771-1852) were being published, the first major works of realistic prose.

By the mid-19th century realism had been firmly established as the dominant current in European literature. Somewhat later this also happened in American literature, where romanticism which had produced outstanding writers such as James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), Edgar Allen Poe (1809-1849), Herman Melville (1819-1891) and Walt Whitman (1819-1892), played a special role in the formation of American national culture. American romanticism had specific features of its own, due to its more critical understanding of national mythology embodied in the ideal of the "American dream" of equality and success. The change to realism did not come here until after the Civil War.

But in Europe it came much earlier. The constellation of English novelists—Charles Dickens (1812-1870), William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1864) and Charlotte Bronte (1816-1855)—laid a path in literature that strove for social typification and the multi-faceted depiction of reality in all the complexity of its conflicts. Realism marked the desire for the widest possible inclusion of reality. A work became an encyclopaedia of the life, customs, problems and contradictions of a changing society and contained a thorough analysis of the spiritual world of the individual, perceived primarily as a social being. The dominant genre in realistic literature was the novel, being directly connected with the dynamic movement of life and offering optimum possibilities for its artistic representation. Historicism became an integral part of the realistic method, predetermining the important creative discoveries achieved on the way.

The English romantics made an enormous contribution to the aesthetics of realism. But its main principles had been formulated earlier by the French prose writer Marie-Henri Stendhal (pseudonym of Henri Beyle, 1783-1842). These

were the authenticity and correct historical setting of a work, the full inclusion of socially important material and the typical nature of characters and circumstances. These principles were consistently reflected in Stendhal's own works, particularly his novel *Le Rouge et le Noir*, which showed the antagonism between the forces of revolution and reaction and also contained the anatomy of self-assertion of the man who took no note of moral standards. The summit of French realism was the work of Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) who created the many volumed series entitled *La Comédie Humaine*, which presented a panorama of French life after Napoleon and which contained an exhaustively complete portrait of the July monarchy. Engels considered Balzac's works to be a great victory for realism, since in them artistic fidelity predominated over the political views of the writer, who favoured legitimism.

A passionate desire for the merciless portrayal of the truth through the strictly objective observance of life in its many facets was the main principle behind the work of Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880). His novel *Madame Bovary* (1856) is full of bitter criticism of the system and morals of the Second Empire. The nature of his portrayals which strive for strict authenticity in the depiction of conflicts presaged the creative searching which distinguished the art of realism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Theatre. For the European theatre the 17th century and the first half of the 19th century were times of great change. Theatrical presentation in the open disappeared and the box-stage became the established scene. Tragedy gradually gave way to bourgeois drama, the comedy of manners and to the sketch. These genres demanded actors of a new school, who strove to create bright, theatrical presentations.

In 18th-century London the leading theatre was in Drury Lane, under the leadership of the great actor, David Garrick (1717-1779) and subsequently the playwright, Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816). Byron also at one time took active part in the theatre.

In 1680 the Comédie Française was founded in Paris. Here great actors like Adrienne Lecouvreur (1692-1730) and Marie-Françoise Dumesnil (1713-1803) played. The appearance of plays by Diderot and Voltaire brought the actor and

director Henri Louis Lekain (1729-1778) to the fore. During the revolution the theatre was closed for five years. Part of the original group headed by François-Joseph Talma (1763-1826) founded the Theatre of the Republic, where they tried to renew the traditions of high tragedy, but with references to the present.

The Italian theatre of the time also flourished under Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793) and Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806), who took much from the folk art of the comedy of masks. These romantic currents affected the German stage particularly widely. The actors and directors tried to destroy the border between illusion and reality, and irony became a leitmotif of production. In France romanticism in the theatre made itself felt in 1830 when the Comedie Française put on Hugo's *Hernani* and an open squabble arose between the adherents of the new art and the classicists. After 1848 the European theatre went through a period of stagnation, which lasted till the end of the century.

Music. This period saw the golden age in the development of music. The work of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), George Frederick Handel (1685-1759) and Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) contained elements of rationality and powerful emotional appeal. The grandiose imagery which characterized the oratorios and cantatas combined with subtle nuances and fluid strokes that were full of spirituality. New genres were born—the musical drama was created by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787); the comic opera at which Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) shone, the solo instrumental concert, established by the Italian school to which Antonio Vivaldi (circa 1678-1741) belonged, and finally the new type of dramatic conflict which Haydn began in the symphony and which was developed by Mozart and Beethoven.

The work of Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) stands on the borders of the classical and romantic periods in the history of music. Beethoven gave unusual expressiveness to the upheavals of his era—primarily as the composer of nine tragic symphonies. The romantic current was also felt in the works of Franz Peter Schubert (1797-1828), Robert Schumann (1810-1856), Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849), Franz Liszt (1811-1886) and Richard Wagner (1813-1883). Romanticism enriched musical culture by the brilliance of its fantasy and

by its great expressiveness, fairy-tale and poetic imagery and precision of metaphor. Particularly important for the romantics were the smaller genres—the romance, the one-part piece for fortepiano and the instrumental miniature. But romanticism was attracted by such large-scale canvasses as the heroic opera and the epic cycle like that of Wagner's *Ring of the Niebelungen* (1854-1874).

In the opera Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1907) brought about a revolution. He made active use of serious dramas to produce a visual spectacle on the stage. Verdi's school required the singer to be an actor as well—and this was something unusual for opera at the time.

The Pictorial Arts. For a long time the pictorial arts experienced the fruitful influence of baroque. But by the mid-18th century rococo had established itself. Unlike the grandiose images of baroque, the rococo artists strove for graciousness, lightness, subtlety and the magical play of shade and stroke. The greatest artist of this trend was Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), who moved a long way from the classicism of Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) and his followers. During the years of the revolution in France the desire for monumental art based on mythological themes was reborn thanks to the historical paintings of Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), who painted the famous "Marat Assassinated". But this rebirth did not last long, for the romantic era had begun with the works of Theodore Gericault (1791-1824) and Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), whose compositions were full of faith in the revolution ("La Liberté, guidant le peuple", 1830).

Echoes of the Napoleonic invasions are found in the etchings and tragic canvasses of the Spanish painter, Francisco Goya (1746-1828), which shock with the grotesque clarity of their imagery. Romanticism left a deep imprint in English art, particularly in the works of William Blake (1757-1827), who was also an outstanding poet.

Realist trends are mostly seen in French art—in the landscapes of Jean-Baptiste Corot (1796-1875), in the graphics of Honoré de Daumier (1808-1879), which echo the novels of Balzac, in the works of Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), who depicted the labour of the peasants, and in the paintings of Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), who in part anticipated impressionism.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1600 – Founding of the East India Company in England
- 1600 – Holland takes the Island of Mauritius
- 1602 – Founding of the Dutch East India Company
- 1607 – Founding of Virginia, first English colony in North America
- 1609 – England takes the Bermudas
- 1618-1648 – The Thirty Years' War. The Peace of Westphalia
- 1619 – The Dutch East India Company takes Jakarta
- 1621 – Founding of the Dutch West India Company
- 1627 – Founding of the colony of New France in North America
- 1628 June 7 – Petition of Right in England
- 1630-1697 – Palm Republic in Brazil
- 1638-1658 – Dutch occupation of Ceylon
- 1640 November 3 – Convening of the Long Parliament in England (till April 20, 1653). The beginning of the English bourgeois revolution
- 1641 July – Abolition of the courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission in England
- 1641 November 22 – Long Parliament adopts the Grand Remonstrance
- 1642-1646 – First Civil War in England
- 1642 October 23 – Battle of Edgehill between the Parliamentarians and the Royalists
- 1644 July 2 – Battle of Marston Moor
- 1644-1645 – Movement in Hungary against the Hapsburgs led by Gyorgy Rakoczy
- 1645 January 11 – Act of the Long Parliament on the organization of the New Model Army

- 1645 June 14 – Battle of Naseby
- 1646 February 24 – Abolition of Knight-Service (the dominant tenure of land) in England
- 1647 June – Capture of Charles I, King of England
- 1647 October 28–November 11 – Army Council at Putney (the Putney Conference)
- 1647–1649 – The bourgeois-democratic stage of the English Revolution. The Levellers' Movement
- 1648 February–August – Second Civil War in England
- 1648 December 6 – “Pride’s Purge” of the Long Parliament
- 1648–1653 – The Fronde in France
- 1649 January 30 – Execution of Charles I
- 1649 February 6 – Bill on dissolving the House of Lords
- 1649 May 19 – England declared a republic
- 1649–1650 – English conquest of Ireland
- 1649–1650 – The Diggers’ Movement
- 1649–1653 – The Independents’ Republic in England
- 1650–1651 – War between England and Scotland. Scotland annexed by England in 1652
- 1651 October 9 – English Parliament adopts the Navigation Act against Dutch trading supremacy
- 1652 – The Act of Settlement for Ireland
- 1652–1674 – Wars between England and Holland (1652–1654, 1655–1667, 1672–1674)
- 1653 April 20 – Dissolution of the Rump Parliament and the Council of the State
- 1653 December 16–1658 September 3 – Cromwell’s Protectorate
- 1655–1659 – War between England and Spain
- 1660–1688 – Restoration of the Stuarts
- 1660 February 21 – Abolition of the acts of the Rump Parliament
- 1660 April 4 – Charles Stuart signs the Breda Declaration
- 1660 May – Charles Stuart proclaimed King Charles II (1660–1685)
- 1664 – Founding of French West India and East India Companies
- 1668 – Founding of first French trading station in India
- 1672–1678 – France and Sweden at war with the coalition led by Holland (Dutch War)
- 1674 – The French seize Pondicherry (India)
- 1678–1679 – Peace of Nimwegen

- 1682—Mississippi Valley declared a French possession under the name of Louisiana
- 1683-1699—Second Austro-Turkish War. Peace of Karlowitz
- 1684-1698—The Saint League (alliance between Austria, Rzecz Pospolita, a number of German duchies, Venetia and Russia against Turkey)
- 1685 October 17—Repeal of the Edict of Nantes (1598) in France on religious toleration
- 1688 December—Coup d'etat in England (the "Glorious Revolution")
- 1689 October 23—Bill of Rights in England
- 1700—The Duke of Anjou was proclaimed Philip V, King of Spain. Beginning of the House of Bourbon in Spain
- 1700-1721—Northern War
- 1701 January 18—Prussia proclaimed a kingdom
- 1701-1714—War of the Spanish Succession. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) and the Peace of Rastatt (1714)
- 1703-1711—Hungarian war of liberation against the Hapsburgs, led by Ferenc II Rakoczy
- 1703—Anglo-Portuguese treaties: the Lisbon Treaty (May 16), the Methuen Treaty (December 27). Portugal made economically and politically dependent on England
- 1704—England occupies Gibraltar
- 1707—Alliance between Ferenc Rakoczy and Peter the Great of Russia
- 1707—Union of Scotland and England
- 1707-1782—Uprisings against the urban oligarchy in Switzerland (in Geneva—1707, in Berne—1749, in Geneva and Freiburg—1781-1782)
- 1711—Peace of Szatmar between Austria and Hungary
- 1713 April 19—The Pragmatic Sanction. Introduction of succession through the female line in Austria
- 1716-1719—War between Austria and Turkey. Austria annexes part of Serbia including Belgrade and part of Bosnia and Walachia
- 1718-1720—War between England and Spain
- 1721 August 30—Peace of Nystad between Russia and Sweden
- 1733—Invention of the flying shuttle for making cloth
- 1733-1735—War of the Polish Succession
- 1739-1748—War between England and Spain

1740-1748 – War of the Austrian Succession
 1741-1748 – War between Russia and Sweden
 1744 – Weavers' strike in Lyons
 1751-1772 – Publication of the *Encyclopaedia* in France
 1756 May 1 – Alliance between France and Austria against Prussia signed at Versailles. The treaty envisaged the possibility of Russia's joining the alliance
 1756-1763 – The Seven Years' War
 1757 June 23 – Battle of Plassey
 1760 October – Austrian and Russian troops take Berlin
 1760 (c.) – James Hargreaves invents the Spinning Jenny
 1765 – English Parliament passes the act on stamp duty in the English colonies in North America
 1768-1774 – War between Russia and Turkey. The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (July 21, 1774)
 1771 – First weaving factory in England
 1772 – First partition of Poland
 1773 December 16 – The Boston Tea Party
 1774 September 5-October 26 – First Continental Congress in Philadelphia
 1775 – Austria annexes Bukovina
 1775-1783 – American War of Independence. First American Revolution
 1775 May 10 – Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia
 1776 July 4 – US Declaration of Independence
 1777 – First Articles of Confederation of the USA
 1777 October 17 – American victory at Saratoga
 1778-1779 – War of the Bavarian Succession
 1780 October 19 – American victory at Yorktown
 1781 November 1 – Decree abolishing serfdom in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Galicia
 1781-1788 – Second Articles of Confederation of the USA
 1783 September 3 – Treaty of Versailles under which England recognized the independence of the United States
 1784 – James Watt receives patent for his universal steam engine
 1784 – Antifeudal peasant uprising in Transylvania
 1785 – Edmund Cartwright invents the mechanical loom
 1786 August-1787 February – Daniel Shays uprising in the United States
 1787 September – Constitution of the United States of America

- 1787-1789 – National liberation movement in Belgium against Austria
- 1787-1791 – Russo-Turkish War
- 1788-1790 – Russo-Swedish War
- 1788-1800 – Abolition of serfdom in Denmark-Norway
- 1789-1799 – The French revolution
- 1789 May 5 – Opening of the States-General in Versailles
- 1789 June 17 – Proclamation of a National Assembly in France
- 1789 July 9-1791 September 30 – Constituent Assembly in France
- 1789 July 14 – Storming of the Bastille. Popular uprising in Paris
- 1789 August 4-11 – Constituent Assembly decrees on the partial abolition of feudal tithes in France
- 1789 August 26 – The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen in France
- 1789 September – US Congress passes the Bill of Rights
- 1789 October 5-6 – French people march on Versailles
- 1789 November 2 – Decree on the partial nationalization of Church possessions in France
- 1789 October-December – The Brabant revolution in Belgium
- 1790 January 11 – Proclamation of the independent United States of Belgium
- 1790 December – Restoration of the power of the Hapsburgs in Belgium
- 1790-1791 – Decrees on abolishing peasant feudal taxes and estate privileges in France
- 1791 May 3 – Adoption of a Constitution in Poland
- 1791 June 14 – The Le Chapelier Law banning strikes and workers' unions in France (repealed regarding strikes in 1864, trade unions in 1884 and associations in 1901)
- 1791 June-July – The Varennes crisis in France
- 1791 August 27 – The Pillnitz Declaration on a military alliance between Austria and Prussia against France
- 1791 September 3 – Adoption of the First French Constitution
- 1791 October 1-1792 September 20 – The Legislative Assembly in France
- 1791-1815 – The military coalitions against France

- 1792 April 20—The beginning of the French revolutionary wars
- 1792 August 10—The collapse of the monarchy in France
- 1792 September 20—Victory of the revolutionary French forces at Valmy
- 1792 September 21—Beginning of the National Convention in France; Decree on the abolition of royal power in France
- 1792 September 22—Proclamation of the republic in France
- 1793—Second partition of Poland
- 1793 January 21—Execution of Louis XVI
 - April 6—Institution of the Committee of Public Safety
 - May 31-June 2—Popular uprising in Paris against the Girondists
 - June 2—Girondists ousted from the Convention. Jacobins come to power (till July 27, 1794)
 - June 24—Adoption of the Jacobin Constitution (never implemented)
 - July 13—Murder of Jean-Paul Marat
 - July 17—Decree on the complete abolition of feudal rights and tithes in France
 - September—Jacobin reign of terror against the left (Jacques Roux and others)
 - October 5—Decree on the introduction of the revolutionary calendar
 - October 10—Establishment of the Jacobin dictatorship
 - October 24-31—Trial and execution of the Girondists
- 1794 February 4—Decree on the abolition of slavery in the French colonies
 - March 24—Execution of the Hebertists
 - March-November—National liberation movement in Poland under Tadeusz Kosciuszko
 - April 5—Execution of the Dantonists in France
 - June 26—Victory of the French revolutionary forces over the Austrians at Fleurus
 - July 27—Coup of the Ninth Thermidor
 - July 27-1795 October 26—Thermidor Convention
 - July 28—Execution of Robespierre and his followers
- 1795—Third partition of Poland
- 1795 January 26—Proclamation of the Batavian Republic in Holland

- April 1-2, May 20-23—Popular uprisings in Paris against the Thermidor Convention (Germinal and Prairial)
- May 16—Military and political alliance between the Batavian Republic and France
- August 22—Adoption of the Constitution of the Third Year of the Republic in France
- October 1—Decision of the Thermidor Convention to incorporate the Belgian provinces, including Luxembourg, in France
- October 27-1799 November 9—The Directory in France
- Basel peace treaties: between France and Prussia (April 5); between France and Spain (July 22)
- 1795-1796—England takes Ceylon
- 1796—Formation of the Society of Equals under Gracchus Babeuf
- 1796-1797—Napoleon Bonaparte's Italian expedition
- 1797 May 27—Execution of Babeuf
- 1798 February—Formation of the Roman Republic
- 1798-1801—Napoleon's Egyptian expedition
- 1798-1803—The Helvetian Republic in Switzerland
- 1799 April—Suvorov's victory over Napoleon in Italy
- 1799 November 9—Napoleon's coup d'état (18th Brumaire)
- 1799 November 10-1804 May 18—The Consulate in France
- 1799 December 13—Constitution of the Eighth Year of the Republic in France
- 1799-1815—Napoleonic Wars during the period of the Consulate and the Empire
- 1800 July 2—Act on the unification of Ireland and England (came into force on January 1, 1801)
- 1801 February 9—Peace of Luneville between France and Austria
- 1801 July 16—Concordat between Napoleon Bonaparte and the Pope
- 1802 March—Peace of Amiens between England and France
- 1802 August 2—Napoleon proclaimed himself First Consul for life
- 1802 August 4—Constitution of the Tenth Year of the Republic in France
- 1803 May 2—Treaty between the United States and France on the purchase of Louisiana

- 1804 March 21 – Civil Code passed in France (from 1807 to 1814 and from 1852 to 1870 it was called the Napoleonic Codes), Commercial Code introduced in 1808, Criminal Code in 1811
- 1804 May 18 – Napoleon Bonaparte accepts the title of Emperor of France Napoleon I; Constitution of the Twelfth Year of the Republic
- 1804 December 2 – Coronation of Napoleon I in Paris
- 1804 – Proclamation of independence on Haiti
- 1804-1814 – First Empire in France
- 1805 March 18 – Republic of Italy made into a kingdom. Napoleon accepts the title of King of Italy
- 1805 October 21 – Victory of the English navy over the combined Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar
- 1805 December 2 – Battle of Austerlitz
- 1805 December 26 – Peace of Pressburg between France and Austria
- 1806 May 24 – Batavian Republic made into Kingdom of Holland by Napoleon
- 1806 October 14 – Defeat of the Prussian Army at Jena and Auerstadt
- 1806 October 27 – French troops enter Berlin
- 1806 November-1814 April – Continental blockade
- 1806-1815 – Russo-Turkish War
- 1807 – Formation of the Principality of Warsaw
- 1807 February 7-8 – Battle of Eylau
- 1807 June 14 – Battle of Friedland
- 1807 July – Peace treaties of Tilsit between France and Russia (July 7) and France and Prussia (July 9)
- 1808 March 19 and May 2 – Popular uprisings in Madrid. The beginning of the national liberation war in Spain
- 1808 September-October – Meeting between Alexander I of Russia and Napoleon at Erfurt
- 1808-1809 – War between Russia and Sweden. Russia's annexation of Finland (March 1808)
- 1808-1813 – French occupation of Spain
- 1809 July 5-6 – Defeat of Austrian troops at Wagram
- 1809 October 13-14 – Peace of Schönbrunn (Vienna) between France and Austria
- 1810 July 9-December 10 – Napoleon's decrees on including Holland and some parts of Germany into the French Empire

1810-1826 – National liberation revolutions in Latin America
 1811 – England takes the Island of Java
 1811-1820 – Luddite movement in England
 1812 February 24 – Treaty between France and Prussia on joint action against Russia
 1812 – Revolution in Spain. Proclamation of a Constitution (March 19)
 1812 June 24 – The French invade Russia
 1812 September 7 – Battle of Borodino
 1812 September 14 – The French army enter Moscow
 1812 October 18 – Beginning of the French retreat from Russia
 1812 December 18 – Napoleon returns to Paris
 1813 October 16-18 – Napoleon defeated in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig
 1814 – Unification of Sweden and Norway. Proclamation of the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway
 1814 March 31 – Anti-French coalition forces enter Paris
 1814 April 4 – Napoleon abdicates
 1814 May 4 – Dissolution of the Cortes in Spain
 1814 May 30 – Treaty of Paris between France and the allied powers (Austria, England, Prussia, Russia)
 1814 July 9 – Proclamation of independence in Spain
 1814 September-1815 June – Congress of Vienna
 1814-1830 – Restoration of the Bourbons in France
 1815 March 1 – Napoleon lands in France
 1815 March 20-June 22 – Napoleon's "Hundred Days"
 1815 June 9 – Final Act of the Congress of Vienna
 1815 June 18 – Battle of Waterloo
 1815 July 6 – Second entry of allied forces into Paris
 1815 August 24 – Adoption of the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
 1815 September 26 – Founding of the Holy Alliance (1815-1833) of Russia, Austria and Prussia
 1815 November 20 – Second Treaty of Paris between France and the members of the anti-French coalition
 1815 – Formation of the United Kingdom of Portugal and Spain
 1816 – Proclamation of the independence of Spain
 1818 – Proclamation of the independence of Chile
 1818 – First Congress of the Holy Alliance in Aachen

- 1819 February 22 – Treaty between Spain and the United States on the US annexation of Florida
- 1819 – England takes Singapore
- 1820 – Second Congress of the Holy Alliance in Tropau (Silesia)
- 1820 July 1-1821 April 8 – Uprisings in Naples, Piedmont
- 1820-1823 – Revolutions in Spain and Portugal
- 1821 – Third Congress of the Holy Alliance in Laibach (Ljubljana)
- 1821 – Proclamation of independence of Mexico
- 1821 – National liberation movements in the Danubian principalities
- 1821-1822 – National liberation movement in Greece
- 1822 – Proclamation of independence in Greece
- 1822 – Fourth (and last) Congress of the Holy Alliance in Verona
- 1823 December 2 – Proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine
- 1823-1828 – French military intervention in Spain
- 1823-1834 – Civil (Miguelist) War in Portugal
- 1827 October – United fleets of England, France and Russia defeat the Turks in Navarino Bay
- 1827 June 24 – London Convention on the formation of an autonomous Greek state
- 1827-1832 – London conference of the great powers on the Greek question. Recognition of the independence of Greece
- 1828 – Recognition of the independence of Uruguay
- 1828 – Formation of the Democratic Party in the United States
- 1828-1829 – Russo-Turkish War
- 1829 September 14 – Peace of Adrianople
- 1830 – Beginning of the French conquest of Algeria
- 1830 July 27-29 – July revolution in France
- 1830 July-1848 February – July monarchy in France. Louis Philippe
- 1830 August 14 – New Constitution in France
- 1830 August 25 – Beginning of the revolution in Brussels
- 1830 November-1831 October – National liberation uprising in Warsaw
- 1830-1831 – London conference between England, Russia, France and Prussia for the purpose of settling differences that arose as a result of the secession of Belgium

- from the Kingdom of the Netherlands following the 1830 revolution. Recognition of the independence of Belgium (December 20, 1830)
- 1831 February 7—Constitution proclaimed in Belgium. Country declared a constitutional monarchy
- 1831 February-March—Revolution in Central Italy
- 1831 June—Formation of the secret society Young Italy
- 1831 August—Nat Turner uprising in the United States
- 1831 November 21-December 3—First uprising of the weavers in Lyons
- 1832 March-June—First parliamentary reform in England
- 1832 June 5-6—Republican uprising in Paris
- 1833—Abolition of slavery in the English colonies
- 1833—Formation of the German People's Union
- 1833-1840—First Carlist War in Spain
- 1834 January 1—Formation of the German customs union under Prussia
- 1834 February—Formation of the first national association of trade unions in England
- 1834 April 9-13—Second uprising of the Lyons weavers
- 1834—Formation of the Young Germany Society
- 1834—Formation of the Outlaws' League in Germany
- 1834-1843—Third revolution in Spain
- 1836—Formation of the League of the Just, a secret revolutionary society of German workers
- 1836—Texas declared an independent republic
- 1836-1837—Second revolution in Portugal
- 1836-1839—Rise of the Chartist movement in England. Publication of the People's Charter (May 8, 1838)
- 1837—Formation of the secret society under Blanqui
- 1840 July 20—Formation of the Chartist Association in England, the first mass workers' party in the history of the workers' movement
- 1840-1842—War between England and China (known as the First Opium War). England takes Hongkong
- 1842 January 1-1843 March 31—Publication of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne
- 1842—Military coup under Costa Cabral in Portugal
- 1842 November-December—Uprising of the Spanish workers in Barcelona
- 1842—Second upsurge of the Chartist movement in England
- 1842-1847—England takes the Polynesian Islands

- 1844 – Adoption of a Constitution in Greece
- 1844 June 4-6 – Uprising of the Silesian weavers
- 1844 – The French subjugate Algeria
- 1845 – Formation of the international revolutionary-democratic society Fraternal Democrats
- 1845 December – Texas becomes a US State
- 1846 February-March – National liberation uprising in Krakow
- 1846 – Peasant uprising under Maria da Fonte in Portugal
- 1846 May 13-1848 February 2 – War between the United States and Mexico
- 1847 June-1852 November – The Communist League, the first international communist organization of the revolutionary proletariat
- 1847 – Law passed in England on a ten-hour working day for men and a 58-hour working week for women and children
- 1848 January 12 – Beginning of the revolution in Italy
- 1848 January 24 – Discovery of gold in California. Beginning of the gold rush
- 1848 February – *Manifesto of the Communist Party* published in London
- 1848 February 22-24 – Revolution in Paris
- 1848 February 25-1852 December 2 – Second Republic in France
- 1848 February 27 – Beginning of the revolution in Germany
 - March 2 – The opening of national workshops in France. Decree on reducing the working day by one hour (repealed, September 9)
 - March 3 – Beginning of the revolutionary struggle in Prussia
 - March 13 – Popular uprising in Vienna
 - March 15 – Beginning of the revolution in Hungary
 - March 18 – Fighting on the barricades in Berlin
 - March 18-22 – Uprisings in Milan and Venice
 - March 20-May 9 – National liberation uprising in Poznan (Poland)
 - April 27 – Decree on the abolition of slavery in the French colonies
 - May 4-1849 May 26 – Constituent National Assembly in France
 - May 18-1849 May 19 – Frankfurt National Assembly

- June 12-17 – Popular uprising in Prague
- June 22 – Decree on the abolition of national workshops in France
- June 23-26 – Armed uprising of the Parisian workers
- September 18 – Popular uprising in Frankfurt
- October 6-November 1 – Popular uprising in Vienna
- November 4 – Adoption of the Constitution of the Second Republic in France
- December 10 – Louis Napoleon Bonaparte elected president
- 1848 – Proclamation of constitutions in the Netherlands, Denmark and Switzerland
- 1848-1849 – War between Austria and Italy
- 1849 February 9 – Proclamation of the Roman Republic. The Pope deprived of lay power
- March 28 – Adoption of the Imperial Constitution in Germany
- March 29 – Formation of a revolutionary government in Rome under Giuseppe Mazzini
- April 14 – Deposition of the Hapsburgs by the Hungarian Diet. Adoption of a Declaration of Independence in Hungary
- May 3-July 23 – Uprisings in defence of the Imperial Constitution in Germany
- May 13 – Elections to the Legislative Assembly in France
- July 3 – Fall of the Roman Republic
- November 3 – Counterrevolutionary coup in Prussia
- 1850 January 31 – Adoption of an antidemocratic constitution in Prussia (in force till 1918)
- 1850 March 2 – Law on the redemption of feudal dues in Prussia
- 1851 – Festival of Britain (the Great Exhibition) in London
- 1851 December 2 – Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état
- 1852 January 14 – Introduction of the Bonapartist Constitution in France
- 1852 October-November – Trial of the Communist League in Cologne
- 1852 December 2 – Louis Bonaparte proclaimed emperor
- 1852-1870 – Second Empire in France
- 1853 – Britain occupies New Caledonia
- 1853-1856 – The Crimean War. The Peace of Paris

- 1854 December 2—Alliance between England, Austria and France against Russia, signed in Vienna
- 1854—Formation of the Republican Party in the United States
- 1854-1856—Fourth revolution in Spain
- 1854-1860—Revolution and civil war in Mexico
- 1855 June—Opening of the World Exhibition in Paris
- 1856-1860—Opium War (Britain and France against China)
- 1857—Adoption of the Republican Constitution in Mexico
- 1857-1859—Popular anticolonial uprisings in India
- 1858 July 27—Franco-Chinese Treaty in Tien-tsin
- 1858 August 2—India declared a British colony
- 1858-1862—Beginning of the French colonization of Indochina. First war against Vietnam
- 1859 April-July—Popular uprisings in Central Italy. War between Austria, Italy and France
- 1859 June 4—Battle of Magente
- 1859 June 24—Battle of Solferino
- 1859 July 11—Truce of Villafranca di Verona
- 1859 October—Uprising led by John Brown in the United States
- 1859 November 10—Zurich Peace Treaty between France, Italy and Austria
- 1859-1862—Unification of the Danubian principalities of Moldova and Walachia into a single state. Formation of Rumania (1861)
- 1860 January 23—Anglo-French Free-Trade Agreement (on the reduction of import tariffs)
- 1860 May 11-October 1—Expedition of the “Thousand” led by Garibaldi
- 1861 February—Formation of the Confederacy of Southern States
- 1861 March 17—Formation of the Kingdom of Italy. Victor Emmanuel proclaimed king
- 1861-1865—Civil War in the United States
- 1862 February-October—Revolution in Greece
- 1862 May 20—Homestead Laws in the United States
- 1862—Giuseppe Garibaldi marches on Rome
- 1862—Opening of the World Exhibition in London
- 1862-1867—French military expedition to Mexico
- 1863 January 1—Abolition of slavery in the rebel states of North America

- 1863 February—Joint convention between Russia and Prussia on the suppression of the uprising in Poland
- 1863 May 23—Founding of the General Association of German Workers
- 1863—Setting up of the International Committee for Relief of Wounded Soldiers in Geneva
- 1863 August 11—Establishment of the French Protectorate of Cambodia
- 1863-1864—National liberation uprising in Poland
- 1864 January 21-October 30—Austria and Prussia at war with Denmark
- 1864 February 24—Law on compulsory military service for blacks in the United States
- 1864 September 28—Formation of the International Working Men's Association (First International)
- 1864 October 29—Adoption of a Constitution in Greece and formation of a one-chamber parliament
- 1864—The signing of the international convention on the Red Cross Society
- 1864-1870—Aggressive war fought by Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay against Paraguay
- 1865—Institution of the International Office dealing with telegraphs
- 1865 April 14—Assassination of Abraham Lincoln
- 1865 September 25-29—London Conference of the First International
- 1865-1877—Reconstruction of the South in the United States
- 1866 June 16-July 26—War between Prussia and Austria
- 1866 July 3—Victory of the Prussian army at Sadowa
- 1866 August 23—Peace of Prague between Austria and Prussia
- 1866 September 3-8—Geneva Congress of the First International
- 1866-1869—National liberation movement on the Island of Crete against Turkish feudal and national oppression
- 1867 February 8—The Austrian Empire becomes the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy
- 1867 March 2—Treaty between Russia and the United States on the US renting of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands from Russia
- 1867 September 2-8—Lausanne Congress of the First International

- 1867 October – Garibaldi's second march on Rome. The defeat at Mentana (November 3)
- 1867 – Second parliamentary reform in England
- 1867 – Formation of the North German Confederation under Prussia
- 1867 – Canada becomes a self-governing confederation (first British dominion)
- 1867 – Formation of the First Balkan Alliance
- 1867 – London Conference of the Great Powers. Recognition of the permanent neutrality of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg
- 1868 September 6-13 – Brussels Congress of the First International
- 1868 – Formation of the British Trades Union Congress
- 1868 – Adoption of the Constitution of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg
- 1868-1874 – Fifth revolution in Spain
- 1868-1878 – National revolutionary Ten Years War in Cuba against the Spanish
- 1869 April – Proclamation of the first independent Republic of Cuba (lasted until 1873)
- 1869 June 6 – Proclamation of the monarchist Constitution in Spain
- 1869 August – Formation of the Social Democratic Workers' (Eisenach) Party in Germany
- 1869 September 6-11 – Basel Congress of the First International
- 1869 – Opening of the Suez Canal
- 1869 – First railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific built in the United States

NAME INDEX

A

Ablert, Alexandre — 130, 131, 132
 Adams, Samuel — 30
 Alecsandri, Vasile — 271
 Alexander I, Romanov — 69, 70, 72,
 73, 101, 108, 109, 110, 112, 180,
 269, 294, 296
 Alexander II, Romanov — 221, 301
 Alfonso XII — 187
 Ali Pasha Tepeleni — 273
 Anne of Austria — 37
 Anneke, Friedrich — 144
 Aranda, Pedro Pablo — 105
 Arkwright, Richard — 22, 209
 Artigas, Jose Gervasio — 253

B

Babeuf, François Noël (Grac-
 chus) — 63
 Bach, Johann Sebastian — 327
 Bailly, Jean-Sylvain — 45
 Bajazet I — 260
 Bakunin, Mikhail — 307, 308, 315,
 316
 Balcescu, Nicolae — 271
 Balzac, Honoré de — 326, 329
 Barras, Paul François — 58
 Barrot, Odilon — 135
 Batthyany, Lajos — 163
 Bauer, Heinrich — 141
 Bazard, Saint-Amand — 119
 Beauharnais, Josephine de — 67, 70
 Bebel, August — 222, 223, 318
 Becker, Johann Philipp — 318
 Beecher Stowe, Harriet — 237
 Beethoven, Ludwig van — 327
 Belgrano, Manuel — 253
 Berkeley, George — 23
 Bernadotte, Jean (Charles XIV
 Johan) — 295, 300

Berthier, Louis — 70
 Bismarck, Otto von — 220, 221, 222,
 223, 224, 225, 226, 300
 Blake, William — 203, 328
 Blanc, Louis — 116, 122, 130, 131,
 133, 310
 Blanqui, Louis Auguste — 115, 122,
 132, 142
 Boileau, Nicolas — 321, 322
 Bolivar, Simon — 253, 254
 Bonald, Louis-Gabriel-Ambrois Vi-
 comte de — 110
 Bonaparte, Joseph — 68
 Bonaparte, Louis (Napoleon Bona-
 parte's brother) — 68
 Bonaparte, Louis — 68, 134, 135,
 136, 284
 Bonaparte, Lucien — 65
 Bonaparte, Pierre — 215
 Booth, John — 242
 Born, Stephan — 152
 Börne, Ludwig — 139
 Botev, Khristo — 274
 Bourbons — 73, 74, 87, 104, 107, 110,
 112, 113, 169, 174, 177, 230
 Bracke, Wilhelm — 318
 Bradshaw, John — 18
 Brissot, Jacques-Pierre — 55
 Brontö, Charlotte — 325
 Büchner, Georg — 139
 Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc — 40
 Buonarroti, Filippo-Michele — 63,
 115
 Byron, George — 324, 325, 326

C

Cabet, Etienne — 116, 142
 Calderon de la Barca, Pedro — 321
 Calvin, Jean — 10
 Camphausen, Ludolf — 145

Campomanes, Pedro Rodriguez — 105
 Canning, George — 270
 Cantemir, Dimitrie — 264
 Castelar, Emilio — 186
 Castlereagh, Robert Stewart — 101, 108, 109
 Catherine the Great — 81, 97
 Cavaignac, Louis Eugène — 133, 134
 Cavour, Camillo Benzo di — 172, 173, 227, 228, 229, 230
 Chaliier, Joseph — 55
 Charles-Albert of Sardinia — 174
 Charles I, Stuart — 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18
 Charles II, Stuart — 18, 19
 Charles II of Spain — 87, 91, 104
 Charles III (Archduke of Austria) — 104, 105
 Charles IV of Spain — 105, 176, 177
 Charles VI — 90
 Charles VII (Charles-Albert of Bavaria) — 91
 Charles X (D'Artois) — 110, 111, 112
 Charles XII — 290, 291
 Charles XIII — 295, 297
 Charles XIV Johan, *see* Bernadotte, Jean
 Charles, Duke of Brunswick — 50, 52
 Charles, Duke of Lorraine — 86
 Chateaubriand, François-René de — 110, 324
 Chaumette, Pierre-Gaspard — 50, 53, 58
 Chopin, Frederic — 281, 328
 Christian VII — 293
 Clive, Robert — 205, 209
 Coen, Jan Pieterszon — 202, 203
 Colbert, Jean-Baptiste — 38, 204
 Columbus, Christopher — 24, 248
 Comonfort, Ignacio — 257
 Condorcantui, Jose Gabriel (Tupac Amaru) — 251
 Cook, James — 40
 Cooper, James Fenimore — 325
 Corday, Charlotte — 55
 Corneille, Pierre — 322
 Corot, Jean-Baptiste — 329
 Cornwallis, Charles — 32
 Costa, Cabral, Antonio — 191
 Courbet, Gustave — 329
 Couthon, Georges — 56, 59
 Cremer, William Randal — 316
 Cromwell, Oliver — 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 283
 Cromwell, Richard — 16

Cuza, Alexandru Ioan — 274

D

D'Alembert, Jean Le Rond — 41
 Daniels, Roland — 309
 Dante, Alighieri — 166
 Danton, Georges-Jacques — 48, 51, 56, 57, 58
 Darthé, Augustin-Alexandre — 63
 Daumier, Honore de — 329
 David, Jacques-Louis — 57, 67, 328
 Davis, Jefferson — 238
 Defoe, Daniel — 322
 Delacroix, Eugène — 328
 Dembowski, Edward — 279
 Desmoulins, Camille — 48, 56
 Dezamy, Theodore — 116
 Diaz, Juan Martin — 179
 Dickens, Charles — 325
 Diderot, Denis — 40, 41, 322, 327
 Dierig, Friedrich — 140
 Dierig, Wilhelm — 140
 Dobrovsky, Josef — 157
 Dombrowski, Jaroslaw — 281
 Don Carlos — 183, 184, 187
 Donne, John — 321
 Douglas, Frederick — 237
 Drake, Francis — 203
 Du Barry, Marie-Jeanne Becu, Comtesse — 39
 Ducos, Pierre-Roget — 65
 Dumesnil, Marie-Françoise — 327
 Dupleix, Joseph François — 205
 Dupont, Eugène — 314

E

Eccarius, Johann — 314, 318
 Elizabeth I, Tudor — 8
 Enfantin, Barthélemy — 119
 Engels, Frederick — 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 142, 150, 151, 218, 219, 223, 224, 226, 231, 281, 299, 307, 309, 310, 311, 318, 326
 Espartero, Baldomero — 184, 185
 Esterhazy, Pal Antal — 85
 Eugénie, Empress — 214

F

Ferdinand I — 154, 162, 168
 Ferdinand II — 173, 174
 Ferdinand VII — 176, 177, 180, 181, 182, 183, 253

Feuerbach, Ludwig — 123, 124, 125, 140
 Fielding, Henry — 322
 Fischhof, Adolf — 160
 Flaubert, Gustave — 326
 Floridablanca, Conde de — 105
 Fonte, Maria da — 191
 Fourier, François Marie Charles — 111, 118, 120, 121, 123
 Francia, Jose Gaspar — 253
 Francis (Duke of Lorraine) — 91
 Francisco, the infant — 177
 Franz I, Hapsburg — 70, 101, 154
 Franz II, Hapsburg — 99, 101
 Franz Josef — 162
 Frederick VI, Christian — 296, 297
 Fribourg, Ernest Edouard — 315
 Friedrich II, Hohenzollern — 80, 81, 91
 Friedrich the Great — 80, 92, 98
 Friedrich Wilhelm I, Hohenzollern — 80
 Friedrich Wilhelm IV — 149, 219, 220

G

Garasanin, Ilija — 272
 Garibaldi, Giuseppe — 175, 228, 229, 230, 231
 Garrick, David — 326
 Gericault, Theodore — 328
 Gladstone, William Ewart — 267
 Glück, Christoph Willibald — 327
 Godoy, Manuel de — 176, 177
 Godwin, William — 23
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang — 154, 322, 323
 Goldoni, Carlo — 327
 Goldsmith, Oliver — 323
 Gongora y Argote, Luis de — 321
 Gotrek, Per — 299
 Gottschalk, Andreas — 144, 151
 Goya, Francisco — 328
 Gozzi, Carlo — 327
 Grant, Ulysses — 242
 Grillparzer, Franz — 162
 Guillotin, Joseph-Ignace — 51
 Guizot, François — 111, 116, 130
 Gustavus III — 292, 296
 Gustavus IV Adolphus — 294, 295, 296

H

Hajnoczy, Jozef — 100

Händel, George Frederick — 327
 Hansemann, David Justus — 145
 Hapsburgs — 70, 79, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 104, 108, 156, 158, 161, 164, 165, 219, 266, 268, 286, 287, 302
 Hargreaves, James — 22, 209
 Harney, George — 122
 Harrison, William Henry — 237
 Haydn, Franz Joseph — 327
 Hebenstreit, Franz — 99, 100
 Hébert, Jacques-René — 49, 51, 53, 54, 58
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich — 123, 124, 125, 139, 140
 Heine, Heinrich — 139, 141, 324
 Heliade-Radulescu, Ion — 271
 Henry, Patrick — 34
 Henry VIII, Tudor — 10
 Herzen, Alexander — 133
 Hidalgo, Miguel — 253
 Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus — 324
 Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, Carol I — 274
 Hohenzollerns — 137, 219, 221
 Hugo, Victor — 324, 327
 Hume, David — 23
 Hus, Jan — 157

I

Innocent XI — 86
 Ireton, Henry — 18
 Isabella II — 183, 185, 186, 187

J

James I, Stuart — 10, 16
 James II, Stuart — 19, 20
 Jefferson, Thomas — 30, 31, 34, 233
 Jellacic, Josip — 162, 164
 Joao VI — 254
 Johann (Archduke of Austria) — 146, 147
 Johnson, Andrew — 243
 Jones, Ernest Charles — 311
 Jose I — 189
 Josef I, Hapsburg — 88, 89
 Josef II, Hapsburg — 79, 80, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98
 Juan Carlos — 104
 Juan IV (Archduke of Braganza) — 188
 Juan VI — 190
 Juarez, Benito Pablo — 257, 258

Jung, Hermann — 314
Jungmann, Josef — 157
Junot, Andoche — 189

K

Kara Mustafa — 86
Karadzic, Vuk — 272
Karageorge, (Petrovic George) — 268
Karavelov, Lyuben — 274
Karolyi, Sándor — 89
Kaunitz, Wenzel Anton von — 92
Kazinczy, Ferenc — 100
Khmelnitsky, Bogdan — 277
Kleber, Jean-Baptiste — 65
Kogalniceanu, Mihail — 271
Kollar, Jan — 157, 158
Komenski, Jan Amos — 95
Kosciuszko, Tadeusz — 157, 278
Kossuth, Lajos — 156, 159, 163, 164
Kugelman, Ludwig — 318
Kutuzov, Mikhail — 269

L

La Perouse, Jean-François — 40
La Tour, Theodore Maxiimilien — 160, 162
Lafargue, Paul — 318
Lafayette, Marie-Joseph — 32, 45, 46, 110
Laffitte, Jacques — 113, 114
Lamarque, Maximilien — 115
Lamartine, Alphonse — 130
Las Casas, Bartolome de — 249
Lassalle, Ferdinand — 222
Laud, William — 11, 12
Launay, Bernard René, Marquis de — 44
Law, John — 38
Le Chapelier, Isaac-René-Guy — 47, 67, 114
Lebas, Philippe — 56, 59
Lecouvreur, Adrienne — 327
Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre — 115, 135
Lee, Robert H. — 242
Lekain, Henri Louis — 327
Lenin (Ulyanov), Vladimir — 60, 136, 310
Leopold I, Hapsburg — 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 99
Leopold I, (Leopold, Saxe-Coburg) — 289
Leopold II — 98, 99

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim — 154, 322
Lessner, Friedrich — 318
Levsky, Vassil — 274
Liebknecht, Wilhelm — 222, 318
Lilburne, John — 13, 15
Lincoln, Abraham — 238, 239, 241, 242, 243, 315
Liszt, Franz — 328
Locke, John — 23
Lönnrot, Elias — 298
Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans — 112, 113, 114, 130
Louis XIII, Bourbon — 37
Louis XIV, Bourbon — 37, 38, 87, 88, 104
Louis XV, Bourbon — 38, 39, 105
Louis XVI, Bourbon — 42, 48, 49, 50, 54, 73, 106
Louis XVIII (Comte de Lille) — 73, 74, 109, 110
Louvel, Louis-Pierre — 110
Ludd, Ned — 23
Luther, Martin — 138

M

Machiavelli, Niccolo — 166
Mahmud II — 270, 272
Maistre, Joseph de — 110
Manteuffel, Otto von — 220
Marat, Jean-Paul — 48, 49, 55
Maria Cristina — 183, 184
Maria Luisa — 177
Maria-Theresa — 79, 91, 92
Marie-Antoinette — 48, 54, 99
Marie-Louise, Hapsburg — 70, 212
Marlborough, John Churchill — 88
Maroto, Gabriel — 184
Marrast, Armand — 115
Martinovics, Ignacy — 100
Marx, Karl — 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 134, 142, 150, 151, 219, 236, 281, 299, 307, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318, 319
Mary Stuart — 20
Maximilian I, Hapsburg — 214, 258
Mazarin, Jules — 37
Mazzini, Giuseppe — 115, 170, 171, 175, 228
Melville, Herman — 325
Mendizabal, Juan Alvarez — 183, 184
Metternich, Klemens — 101, 108, 154, 159
Mickiewicz, Adam — 281

Mignet, François Auguste—111, 112
 Miguel (Miguel Maria Evaristo de Braganza)—190
 Millet, Jean-François—329
 Milton, John—18, 19
 Mina, Francisco—179
 Minin, Kuzma—157
 Mirabeau, Honoré-Gabriel, Comte de—46, 49
 Miranda, Francisco—252, 253
 Mitre, Bartolomé—256
 Mohammed II—260
 Molière, Jean-Baptiste—322
 Monck, George—17
 Monmouth, James Scott—19
 Monroe, James—109, 235, 236
 Montecucculi, Raimondo—84
 Montesquieu, Charles-Louis—41
 Montmorency, Duc de—110
 Morazan, Francisco—258
 Morelos, Jose Maria—253
 Moreno, Marian—253
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus—327
 Muhammed Ali of Egypt—270, 273
 Mun, Thomas—23
 Murad I—260
 Murat, Joachim—177
 Mustafa Bushati—273
 Mustafa Reshid Pasha—273

N

Napoleon I (Napoleon Bonaparte)—64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 100, 107, 108, 134, 135, 167, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 189, 206, 212, 252, 253, 254, 269, 278, 279, 284, 287, 294, 296, 305, 326
 Napoleon II (Duc de Reichstadt)—212
 Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)—212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 223, 224, 227, 229
 Narino, Antonio—253
 Narvaez, Ramon Maria—184, 186
 Necker, Jacques—42, 44, 303
 Negoro, Dipo—211
 Nehru, Jawaharlal—175, 205
 Nelson, Horatio—64, 68, 176
 Noir, Victor—215
 Noot, Van der—286

O

Obrenovic, Milos—269, 271, 272

Odger, George—316
 Oldenburgs—290
 Oligvie, William Henry—23
 Orsini, Felice—214
 Oscar I—300
 Otto of Bavaria, Prince—272, 275
 Owen, Robert—111, 118, 121, 125, 197

P

Paisii of Hilendar—265
 Palacky, Frantisek—161
 Paskevich, Ivan—164
 Pedro II—257
 Perier, Casimir-Pierre—114
 Peter III, Romanov—81
 Peter the Great—89, 266
 Petofi, Sandor—156, 163
 Petrarca, Francesco—166
 Philip V (Philip Anjou)—104, 105
 Philippe (Duke of Orleans)—38
 Pi-y-Margall, Francisco—187
 Pitt, William—267
 Pius IX—173, 229
 Poe, Edgar Allen—325
 Polignac, Jules—112, 114
 Pombal, Marquis de—188, 189, 191
 Pompadour, Geanne-Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de—39, 92
 Poniatowski, Stanislas Augustus—277, 281
 Potyomkin, Grigori—266
 Poussin, Nicolas—328
 Pozharsky, Dmitri—157
 Prévost, Antoine-François—323
 Pride, Thomas—13, 14
 Priestley, Joseph—23
 Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph—116, 122, 126, 311
 Pyat, Felix—315

R

Racine, Jean-Baptiste—322
 Radetzky, Joseph—147, 162
 Radic, Ivan—265
 Rakoczy, Ferenc—87, 88, 89
 Rakovsky, Georgy—274
 Raspail, François—132, 134
 Reinell, Pedro—40
 Reveillon—43
 Rhigas, Fereos—265
 Ricardo, David—123
 Richelieu, Armand-Jean du Plessis—37, 204

Riego y Nunez, Rafael del—181,
182, 183, 190
Robespierre, Maximilien—46, 49,
56, 57, 58, 59, 63, 65
Robespierre, Augustin—56, 59, 65
Rochambeau, Jean-Baptiste—32
Roon, Albrecht von—220
Rosas, Juan Manuel de—256, 257
Rouget de Lisle—49
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques—41, 323
Roux, Jacques—53, 57, 58
Royer-Collard—110
Ruiz, Jacinto—177
Rumyantsev, Pyotr—266

S

Saint-Just, Louis-Antoine de—56,
59
Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de—
111, 118, 119, 120, 123
Saldanha, Joao Carlos—191
San Luis—185
San Martin, Jose de—253
Sanchez, Julian—179
Sand, George (Amandine-Aurore
Lucie Dupin)—324
Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de—
257
Savoy, Amadeus—186, 187
Savoy, Eugène—87, 88, 265
Schapper, Karl—141, 309, 310
Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm—324
Schiller, Johann Friedrich—154,
322, 323
Schlegel, August Wilhelm von—324
Schlegel, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich
von—324
Schmerling, Anton—147
Schubert, Franz Peter—328
Schumann, Robert—328
Squillacci—105
Scott, Walter—325
Shays, Daniel—33
Shelley, Percy Bysshe—325
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley—326
Sherman, William—242
Sièyès, Emmanuel-Joseph—43, 65
Silva Xavier, Joaquim Jose da—251
Silva, Pasos da—191
Slowacki, Juliusz—281
Smith, Adam—23, 123
Snellmann, Johan Vilhelm—299
Sobieski, Jan—79, 86, 261, 277
Sorge, Friedrich Adolph—246, 318
Spence, Thomas—23
St Istvan—84, 86, 98

Stendhal (Beyle) Marie-Henri—326
Sterne, Lawrence—323
Steward, Ira—246
Strafford, Thomas Wentworth—11,
12
Strauss, Johann—162
Struensee, Johan Frederick—297,
293
Stuarts—10, 14, 18
Stur, Louis—158, 164
Sucre, Antonio Jose de—254
Suvorov, Alexander—65, 266
Swift, Jonathan—322
Sylvia, William—246
Szechenyi, Istvan—156

T

Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-
Maurice de—70, 73, 110, 112
Tallien, Jean-Lambert—58
Talma, François-Joseph—327
Tancsics, Mihai—156, 163
Thackeray, William Makepeace—
325
Thierry, Augustin—111
Thiers, Louis Adolphe—112, 225
Thokoly, Imre—85, 86, 88
Thorbecke, Jan Rudolf—285
Thrane, Marcus—300
Tolain, Henri-Louis—311, 315
Tournelle, Comtesse de—48
Toussaint L'Overture—252
Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jacques—41
Turner, Nat—236

U

Urquiza, Justo Jose—256

V

Varlet, Jacques—53, 54
Velarde, Pedro—177
Verdi, Giuseppe—328
Vergniaud, Pierre-Victorien—55
Vésinier, Pierre—315
Victor Emmanuel I—169
Victor Emmanuel II—228, 229, 230,
231
Villele, Jean—110
Vivaldi, Antonio—327
Vladimirescu, Tudor—269
Voltaire, Jean-François—41, 80,
322, 327
Vonck, Jean François—286

W

Wagner, Richard – 328
Walker, William – 258
Walpole, Robert – 21
Washington, George – 30, 31, 32, 34
Watt, James – 22, 209
Watteau, Jean-Antoine – 328
Weidig, Friedrich – 139
Weitling, Wilhelm – 122, 142
Wellington, Arthur Wellesley – 189
Wergeland, Henrik – 298
Whitman, Walt – 242, 325
Wilhelm I of Prussia – 220, 225
William (Wilhelm) of Orange – 20
William I of Orange – 284, 285, 288
William II – 284, 285
William V of Orange – 283, 284
Willich, August – 144, 309, 310

Windischgrätz, Alfred – 162
Winstanley, Gerrard – 15
Witt, Johan de – 202
Wolff, Luigi – 315
Wolff, Wilhelm – 141
Wroblewski, Walery – 281

Y

Yelizaveta Petrovna – 81

Z

Zizka, Jan – 157
Zrinyi, Ilona – 88
Zwanziger – 140

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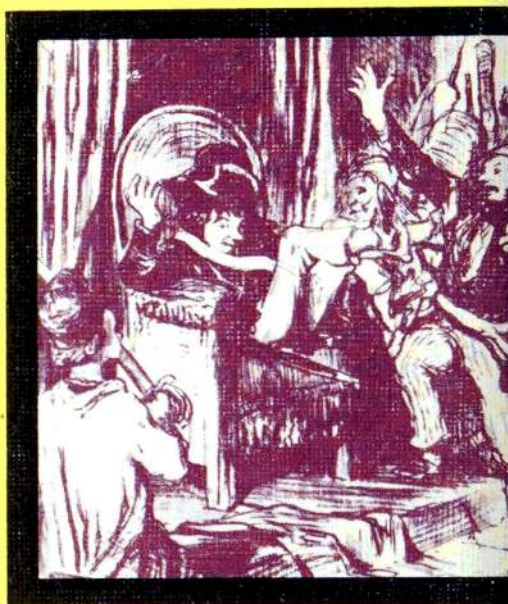
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